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NEW MASSES

VATICAN'S HAND IN BAVARIA

by FRANK JOHNSON

BETRAYAL IN JAPAN?

by THE EDITORS

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Witnesses Against Depression, by Virginia Gardner; Warsaw's New Day, by David Zaslavsky; Major Eliot's Atomic Oyster, by John Stuart; Experts, Real and Fancied, by Joseph Foster; Isidor Schneider reviews Edgar Snow's "The Pattern of Soviet Power"; Gropper's cartoon on Uncle Sam and Congress.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

IT IS always a special, personal satisfaction to find mail in the morning, whether it be a letter in one's own box or part of the big load which arrives at the magazine's office.

For example, today there was a note from the International Labor Defense, announcing its publication of Army Talk Orientation Fact Sheet No. 70, which is titled "Prejudice! Roadblock to Progress." Fact Sheet No. 70, which sounded about as interesting as warm fruit juice left over from last week, was enclosed. We took a superficial glance—then settled down and read every word. We suggest that you do, also. For if ever Americans needed this illuminating reprint, they need it now. That much was demonstrated on our recent cross-country trip. Everywhere, from West Coast to East, instances of anti-Semitism, Jim Crow, and a contempt of minorities exist, and show unmistakable evidence of gaining weight. Whether these tendencies are to thrive, organized or unorganized, is up to every decent-thinking person and group in the world today.

The ILD will send single copies free of Fact Sheet No. 70, on request. It is reprinted by special permission of the War Department. Address Louis Coleman, c/o ILD, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, for additional particulars.

MUCH of our correspondence continues along the same typewritten lines of "more cultural material." We agree, and in the next few weeks, we will have something new to say about NM's reorientation in this direction. There are very aggressive suggestions about the general subject: one of our readers in Cheyenne thinks we waste too much space on theater, since out-of-towners have slight opportunity for play-going. From Shreveport, La., to Bangor, Me., our film reviews are discussed. And from Robert T. Farren, PFC, USMC, in a naval hospital in North Carolina: "If NM devotes a page a month to poetry, we don't want space-fillers—we want something good." Others would like more short stories, and, in all departments, more prompt answers to letters and acknowledged receipt of manuscripts.

AS REGARDS the last, everyone on NM's staff will admit that such claims are just. But too, every member of the staff has his hands full with the mere production details of any next week's issue. One efficient and experienced secretary works for all the editors around the place—and twenty-four hours in any one of her days are not enough to ensure your getting the prompt and efficient response to which you are entitled. There is only this to say: we will do the best we can until our budget will stand the increased payroll which means more help—and please bear with us.

TO GIVE you what you want is our job. William Randolph Hearst offered Tokyo Rose $2,000 for her life story—we know you don't want that or any part of it. But we can offer you something else—the kind of reading material you must have—in the columns of the magazine and the books which supplement NM's week-to-week analyses. This, incidentally, is not the usual kind of combination offer you have seen so often; it is a chance to build your library free. Please look at page 9.

SCATTERED notes: Edith Glaser, whose cartoons you see frequently, has a baby; eight pounds, a boy, and everyone doing well at this writing. Every time we hear about a new-born, we think wistfully of how such an announcement was once made by the captain of a New England sailing vessel, but never mind. . . . You no doubt remember Eugene Larkin's woodcuts. He has just been appointed assistant director of the University of Minnesota Art Gallery in Minneapolis. . . . Ray Pearce, a reader, writes to say that he considers Virginia Gardner's article on atomic energy (Sept. 11) one of the best she has done. Dr. Smyth's report, on the future use of atomic energy, which Miss Gardner discusses at the close of her article, according to Mr. Pearce, will be ready about September 15; priced at $1.25 (paper bound), ($2.00 cloth), and published by Princeton University Press.

M. DE A.

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NEW MASSES
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TRUMAN AND JOBS

By THE EDITORS

IN HIS first comprehensive message to Congress President Truman has firmly grasped the nettle of domestic policy. Faced with the crisis of the transition from war to peace, he has outlined a program of vigorous action to alleviate hardship, shore up purchasing power and stimulate maximum peacetime production and employment. There are gaps in this program and weaknesses. But those who speculated on persuading the President to abandon the Roosevelt path have been rebuffed. The labor and progressive forces have been encouraged. Now the energies of all, including the President and his whole administration, must be directed toward insisting that a recalcitrant Congress move without delay to write this program, strengthened and amplified, into the law of the land.

That this will not be easy is evident from the virtual declaration of war issued by Field Marshal Joe Martin, Republican leader in the House, and his chief of staff, Representative Halleck of Indiana. The latter indicated that the Full Employment Bill, whose enactment the President strongly urged, and the large-scale housing program he recommended would be particular targets for GOP attack as part of the campaign to capture the 1946 congressional elections. And within Truman's own party Representative Doughton, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, spurned the President's request for passage of emergency unemployment insurance legislation to provide a maximum of twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks. It is evident that the honeymoon of Truman's first five months is over. Though the President used soft words in an effort to turn away congressional wrath, tougher methods will be required if the 16,000 words of this message are to become something more.

LET'S look at the message itself. It is a pity that its bulk and pedestrian writing will deter the average reader from giving it the careful consideration it deserves. First, it should be noted that President Truman does not join the cheer leaders of "private enterprise," among whom are the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee for Economic Development, and War Production Board Chairman J. A. Krug, for whom the reconversion process is simply one of removing controls and dishing out glowing predictions about the future. The President acknowledges that "there will be a great deal of inevitable unemployment" and that there is "a natural feeling of uneasiness among the rank and file of our people." He projects the possibility of "the greatest peacetime industrial activity that we have ever seen," but only on condition that "the Congress and the administration move vigorously and courageously to deal with the economic problems which the peace has created." And Mr. Truman enunciates a principle which the labor movement and other progressives have often emphasized:

"The cost of this transition from war to peace is as much a part of the cost of the war as the transition from peace to war—and we should so consider it." In keeping with this principle the President proposes:

A twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks' unemployment insurance law to include all workers not now protected; "an immediate and substantial upward revision" of the minimum wage act; full employment legislation; a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee; a large-scale housing and slum clearance program; a vast program of public works in cooperation with states and municipalities.

For veterans: liberalization of the provisions for hospital and medical care, vocational training and education.

For farmers: use of $500,000,000 of lend-lease funds for extending price support and the further development of the crop insurance program.

For the people as a whole: continuation of firm controls on rents and the prices of food, clothing and other essentials; the establishment of a federal agency to promote and coordinate scientific research and make its fruits available to the public (this is in line with the Kilgore bill discussed by Virginia Gardner in last week's NEW MASSES); and proposals for a national health program, for expansion of the social security system and improvement of the federal education program—these to be submitted later to Congress.

Here are some of the weaknesses of the Truman message:

There is no recommendation for severance pay for the unemployed and increased demobilization pay for veterans. In view of the manner in which the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee have been handling the twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks unemployment insurance bill, immediate severance pay and much higher demobilization pay (which at present ranges from $100 to $300) are all the more urgent. In its 15 plus 15 plan (see Joseph Foster's article on page 6) NEW MASSES has proposed that $15,000,000,000 be set aside for this purpose out of the funds being saved as a result of the end of the war.

THOUGH the President notes the sharp reduction in take-home pay because of the elimination of overtime, his only proposal for dealing with this problem is the lifting of the minimum wage. But this will not help most of the factory workers who are already getting more than even the minimum (sixty-five cents an hour) contained in the Pepper bill. The fact is that with the shift from a forty-eight-hour to a forty-hour week, the average wage of the employed worker has dropped from about fifty dollars to thirty-nine dollars a week—a twenty-two percent decline. Mr. Truman's insistence that there be no increases in wage rates where employers will use them to obtain higher price ceilings tends to perpetuate this situation and makes it more difficult for the trade unions to win increases. The sag in take-home

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pay is not simply a labor problem; it is a national problem since it threatens to cut down the customers for peacetime goods.

The President's proposals on public works, though facing in the right direction, suffer from vagueness as to scope and timing. Federal Works Administrator Philip B. Fleming's promise of last November that a $5,000,000,000 appropriation would be ready for public works in the first peacetime year has not materialized. Right now New York City's own $1,270,000,000 public works program is marking time because of the failure of Congress to make the necessary federal appropriation to start it moving. In its 15 plus 15 plan NEW MASSES urges $15,000,000,000 for immediate public works that would provide nearly 4,000,000 jobs directly and many more indirectly.

Too vague and general are also Mr. Truman's proposals for a transitional tax bill and for aid to little business. As the former chairman of the Senate War Investigation Committee he knows the story of the growth of big business

(*Continued on page* 20)

VATICAN'S HAND IN BAVARIA

By FRANK JOHNSON

SOME weeks ago in Munich a number of Americans had a discussion with several liberal Catholics on the role of the Catholic Church during the rise of world fascism, with a Jesuit professor invited to present the Church position. I arrived a little early and was introduced to him. After the formal greetings the professor asked me, "Is Mr. Murphy in Munich? I thought he was coming here."

The question startled me, because it supported my growing conviction that at this time the Vatican held the whip hand over politics in Bavaria. This decisive influence seemed to be exercised through Robert Murphy, political adviser to General Eisenhower, for the Americans, and Cardinal Faulhaber, of Munich, for the Church. Policy was executed on the spot by Col. Charles E. Keegan, military governor of Bavaria, through subordinate American Military Government officers and the Bavarian government appointed by AMG [Col. Keegan is a Bronx politician who is running for New York City Council on the Democratic ticket this fall]. A result is that the reconstruction of democracy in the American zone was being seriously hampered. As several German anti-fascists of different political persuasions phrased it, one-party Nazi rule had been replaced by one-party clerical rule.

The composition of the Bavarian cabinet gave the show away. All but one (or perhaps two) of the seven-man cabinet were Catholics controlled by the pre-Hitler Bavarian People's Party, which had offered the least resistance to Hitler of all the non-Nazi parties. Among those ministers was one who is said to have spoken at the birthday celebration of the notorious Nazi, Christian Weber, only one month before the Americans captured Munich. A liberal Catholic characterized the party as even farther to the right than the Centrist Party, its Catholic counterpart in the rest of Germany. There are a few Social Democrats and Communists among the lower officials, but their inclusion is only part of a facade, for their representation is ludicrously below their proportion of the population. I asked a well known Social Democratic trade union leader what he thought of the composition of the Bavarian government. *"Skandal!"* he exclaimed vehemently.

It was therefore hardly surprising that the administration was reactionary. Its attitude toward former concentration camp inmates was typical. Monthly payments to them were the same as those given returning Wehrmacht soldiers; they were not given extra ration tickets. No special effort was made to obtain living quarters for them. On the contrary, several of them told me that there was reason to believe that they were actually discriminated against. They were naturally becoming bitter toward the government and the AMG. One anti-fascist who had spent twelve years in Nazi concentration camps and prisons even told me that he was beginning to feel that the concentration camp might loom before him again in a few years; he added grimly that next time he would not go.

The reactionary administration is dominated by a fear of communism. This can be partly explained by the fact that perhaps the most successful aspect of the Goebbels propaganda line, and one which has survived in the post-war period, is the fear, distrust and condemnation of the Russians. No doubt one ingredient of this anti-Sovietism is the German feeling of guilt for the inhuman behavior of their armies in Russia and their almost unconscious fear of retribution. Beyond this, most Germans—and many genuine anti-Nazis among them—have swallowed the Nazi lie that Russian civilization is inferior. While this phenomenon facilitated the anti-Communist line of the Bavarian administration, their policy was rooted more deeply. They seemed to be operating on the Vatican judgment that communism is the primary danger of our time.

THE "specter of communism" is thus at the bottom of the current Bavarian predicament. And what is so disturbing is the sinister parallel of this position with the Nazi demagogy that Germany and the world must be saved from Bolshevism. The methods and the immediate circumstances are different but the effect is the same. Just as the fascists attack all democratic parties in the name of saving the country from Bolshevism, so in Bavaria the tendency has been to deprive the democratic parties, the Social Democrats and Communists, of their participation in the government. The pre-conditions for a resurgence of fascism are thus being created.

It should be clear that the Nazi brand of fascism is considerably discredited in Germany for the time being, partly because the Nazis lost the war and partly because the Nazis, through the SS and their fanatical party followers, subjected the German people to the same kind of treatment in the last months of the war as they meted out to the occupied peoples. But fascist modes of thinking are still the rule among Germans and it would not be difficult to impose some form of fascism on them again. The reactionary policy of the Bavarian government, probably based on Vatican

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policy, and its refusal to allow the democratic parties to participate in proportion to their strength, is easing the path to a return of some sort of fascism to Germany.

Not all Germans have caught onto this tactic. This was brought home to me in a striking way. Among the liberal Catholics who attended the discussion I referred to earlier was a priest who appeared to be an ardent anti-Nazi. The Jesuit professor had made a spiritually blind, politically lame defense of the Church's behavior in the face of developing world fascism, delivering himself of the gem, among others, that when Hitler took power the Church was waiting for the fruits of Hitlerism to ripen before judging it —the Church had not perceived the fruits of Hitlerism in 1933! The young priest was wrathful at this crass piece of casuistry. He heatedly pointed out that the Church had failed to stop fascism in Italy, in Austria, in Spain, in Czechoslovakia and finally in Germany. This was very like cowardice, he said. (Would he be excommunicated? We Americans wondered.)

It was obvious that this priest was a serious anti-Nazi, yet he did not understand the anti-Communist deception of the Nazis, and he appeared to be following the Vatican's anti-Communist line. For he made wild charges that the Nazis were taking refuge among the Communists, and that the latter were plotting to take power with their help. How far this is from the reality is evident from the remark of a pre-Hitler Social Democrat. If the Nazis came to the Communists, he said, they would be knocked down.

While liberal Catholics have not learned the lessons of the past fifteen years and are unwittingly lending themselves to the anti-communism which potentially leads to fascism, the Social Democrats do appear to have learned it. Several Social Democrats and Communists with whom I spoke vigorously affirmed their unity. Though they are far from organic unity, they are determined to fight together in Germany, like their counterparts in the rest of Europe, for their common anti-fascist objectives. Hence the Bavarian adherents of these two groups are united in their opposition to the existing one-party rule. They are acutely—though at present helplessly—aware of the dangers of the return of fascism if the present policies are carried out to their logical conclusion.

Recently the hand of the AMG was openly displayed. In July *Stars and Stripes* published a statement by Colonel Keegan to the effect that he thought the Americans might withdraw from Bavaria in the fall, leaving behind a separate, independent Bavarian government. For days Germans kept asking me if it were true that the Americans favored a separate Bavaria, and it was evident that they were apprehensive at the prospect. These democratically-minded Germans pointed out to me that if this occurred it would be grist for the fascist demogogic mill. Although Bavaria is "anti-Prussian," democratic Germans are aware that the success of separatism, which is largely reactionary and monarchist, would leave Bavaria with the desire for German unity and hence implant the seeds of a fascist demogogical program. One can only conjecture why Colonel Keegan made this statement. Is it possible that Bavarian separatism represents an attempt by the Church to replace Poland with Bavaria as a Catholic, anti-Soviet focus in central Europe?

HAPPILY the Bavarian picture is not one of unrelieved darkness. The situation is fluid. In some localities, intelligent and pro-democratic AMG officers have taken advantage of their discretionary power to utilize democratic German elements. In some cases Social Democrats and Communists have been appointed to positions of importance.

Furthermore, AMG is still groping and has not yet arrived at a fixed policy. The situation here described is actually an exploitation by reactionary elements of the current period of indecision and policy formation. The wheels of Army policy move slowly, but there are signs that at least they have begun to move in the direction of the larger democratic perspectives for the occupation drawn up at Potsdam.

Moreover, the Russians presented the American occupying authorities with a democratic challenge, by permitting the formation of anti-fascist committees, trade unions and democratic political parties. The Americans are now following suit. In recent weeks directives of a very encouraging nature have been issued at Frankfurt. Uniform regulations for the whole American zone concerning aid to concentration camp victims and their families have been issued. The formation of trade unions and political parties is being authorized. Developments like these indicate that the days of uncontested Church domination of Bavaria may be numbered, for the trade union movement and the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, if they are permitted to function, will work against the brakes on democratic development imposed by the previously dominant reactionary forces.

"The Wehrmacht Returns," drawing by Cpl. Syd Fossum of Minneapolis, sent from Germany by the artist.

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EXPERTS, REAL AND FANCIED

By JOSEPH FOSTER

THE Big Boys of business and the large corporation economists are bubbling over with optimism regarding the immediate postwar future of the country. There is no threatened unemployment, industry in the main needs no special reconversion treatment, and the temporary idleness of a handful of workers will soon be terminated by private industry, which is raring to go. I discovered this economic Shangrila by communicating with a number of people of position and influence in the business world in order to get some reaction to the NEW MASSES 15 plus 15 plan launched two issues back. Briefly this proposal calls for spending some $30,000,000,000 earmarked for war appropriations to the end of the year as follows: fifteen billion for severance pay for discharged war workers and for increased demobilization pay for servicemen, and fifteen billion for public works, such as schools, hospitals, roads, playgrounds, parks, flood control projects, etc. NEW MASSES wired this suggestion to Congressman Clarence Cannon, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations.

The first person I spoke to was Henry Hazlitt, an editor of the New York *Times* who specializes in economic questions. When I asked him what he thought of the plan, he said that he was not prepared to make a formal statement. But the *Times* on August 15 and again on August 17, I pointed out, had editorially proposed severance pay to cushion the shock of sudden unemployment. In fact, that was just how his paper had put it.

"Well," answered Mr. Hazlitt, "the *Times had* supported the idea, but the longer it was put off, the less effective it became."

"How so?"

"The discharged workers have dispersed, and by now they have or have not solved their problem. Besides, even if severance pay were feasible, it would not require more than $2,000,000,000 to handle the matter."

I explained that the exact amount required was not our concern, so long as it came within the $15,000,000,000, which represented one-half of what had been saved by the termination of the war. But Mr. Hazlitt would have none of it. "The fact that we save the money doesn't mean we have to spend it. We are that much ahead, and we ought to hold on to it." And with these sentiments of thrift, Mr. Hazlitt ended the conversation.

Regarding the question of dispersed workers, Mr. Hazlitt knows as well as I do that the complete record of each worker can be found either in the personnel files of his place of employment, or at the various state insurance offices. The real reasons for his disagreement with our plan can more likely be found in the fact that between August 17 and the present, the New York *Times*, realizing that severance pay came under the heading of public spending, made haste to scramble back to the paths of righteousness.

Mrs. Helen Rogers Reid, vice president of the *Herald Tribune*, politely refused to comment on NM's proposal, stating that she preferred to make known her opinions through the editorial page of the *Herald Tribune*. The *Herald Tribune* is opposed to the full employment bill and is not doing any shouting for severance pay or public works.

Freda Kirchwey, editor of the *Nation*, was less reticent. "Offhand," she said, "your idea makes sense, but I can't make any final judgment by just hearing the details over the phone. It sounds too complicated. As far as severance pay is concerned, I would prefer that the companies rather than the government foot the bill."

This matter of government vs. company on the severance pay question was also brought up at a recent meeting of the Greater New York CIO Industrial Union Council, John McManus, president of the New York Newspaper Guild and *PM*'s film critic, told me over the telephone. "It seems to me," he said, "that raising this issue now is creating a needless dust storm. From a practical point of view, workers would never get any severance pay if the matter were left to the companies." As for the details of the NEW MASSES proposal, McManus could think of nothing better. "Government planning," he went on to say, "is now based on the expenditure of these $30,000,000,000. Since the machinery for the procurement of budget funds is unchanged—that is, taxes, war loans, etc.—reallocation of funds for peacetime needs would cause no dislocation in spending plans."

I WANTED to find out how some of the corporation heads and the spokemen of conservative business would regard a proposal such as ours, so I called General David Sarnoff of the Radio Corporation of America. The closest I could get was a Mr. Dunlap, his advertising head. Dunlap would make no comment, explaining that he couldn't say, without further study, whether he was for or against the plan. I fared no better with the National Association of Manufacturers. When I attempted to reach one of its officers, the secretary to Noel Sargent, the permanent secretary of the NAM, let me know that no single officer could presume to speak in the name of its 14,000 members. "This is a democratically run organization," she indignantly informed me, "and decisions have to be decided in committee." She suggested that I try again in a month or so. In the meantime, and for the record, she wanted it known that the NAM favored jobs for everybody. So apparently did Ira Mosher, president of this body, judging by his public comments, until the moment, that is, when he testified at the hearings on the full employment bill. He opposed the bill.

A leading economist, associated with a key government agency during the war, but now "economizing" for a large private corporation, was perfectly willing to discuss the 15 plus 15 plan, but requested that his name be withheld. I was to find later that all the economists I spoke to would make the same request. Perhaps it was occupational. But to get back to our voluble though diffident friend.

"First let me say that I think your whole approach is rather pessimistic. [Mosher, of the NAM, made the same complaint when testifying on the full employment bill.] I can see no reason for a gloomy outlook on employment. You can't trust reports on this matter. [Senator Kilgore predicted that there would be some 10,000,000 unemployed by the first of the year; John W. Snyder, director of War Mobilization

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Home Building Lag
Million-a-Year Boom Is Over Two Years Off; Prices Up 25% to 40%

Labor, Material Costs Soar; Builders Protest Squeeze Of Government Ceilings

"Wall Street Journal," August 29.

and Reconversion, put the figure at 8,000,000.] The present unemployment figures are due to time lapse and drift from one job to the next. Also about a million people are living out their unemployment insurance. Not that I blame them—but there you are. As for public works, the construction companies are all set to go just as soon as they can get enough lumber and building materials. Industry needs no government priming."

I expressed the thought that his attitude was certainly over-optimistic.

"Not at all," he burbled. "If you think *I'm* optimistic, you ought to talk to the CED crowd."

THE CED—Committee for Economic Development—was set up during the war by leading business groups. It has branches in many cities of the country, and issues frequent reports on various economic problems. Curious to discover how anybody could be more optimistic than the aforementioned Pangloss, I called the research department of the CED. They disagreed emphatically with our idea, saying right off that if there were any problem, it should be a state and not a federal concern.

I was told that in view of the improved financial condition of the states, and the terrific federal financial load, federal grants for state and local projects were not to be recommended to meet changeover employment. In the CED's opinion, the entire problem could be met by enlarging the state unemployment compensation apparatus, and by the forthcoming program that private construction was about ready to act on which would provide 9,000,000 jobs. Nine million jobs, I said in a small voice, meant quite a bit of activity. How had they arrived at the figure? They had arrived at it in cooperation with the American Society of Civil Engineers, which society did a great deal of the research. It all sounded very learned, so I thanked them and hung up.

THUS the construction industry has been selected as the champion that will slay the dragon of unemployment. J. A. Krug, chairman of War Production Board, seems to support this view. Speaking recently over station WJZ, Mr. Krug opined that when the construction industry got rolling (which would be very soon), it would carry a substantial share of the unemployment load.

In addition, many of the desired consumer items like washing machines and nylons are already coming off the assembly line. Thus, says this gentlemen in effect, we have little to worry about. If you should happen to be one of the measly few not caught up in the construction prosperity wave, it will be a comfort to know that you can look for a job in a pair of freshly washed nylons.

Unfortunately for all these optimistic soothsayers, not all authorities agree that the construction industry is now in a position to pull us out of the deepening hole. On the very day (August 29) that all these blithe predictions were being made, the *Wall Street Journal* ran a frontpage story emphatically scotching this idea. The building program, said the headlines, was still two years away.

Edward L. Bernays, expert public relations counsel, told me he wouldn't like to make any snap judgment on NM's proposal. He would want to do some further inquiring into the details. He is also optimistic over the outlook. In support of his position he pointed to the fact that the *Times* "Situations Wanted" columns showed no special rise.

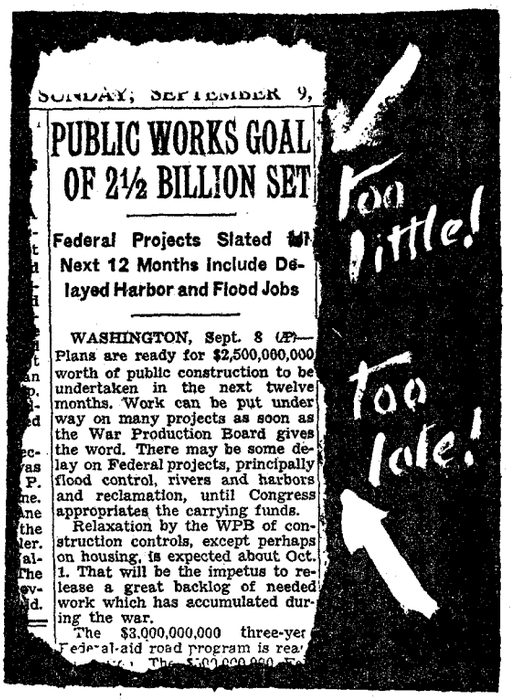
I CALLED several more economists. One, spokesman for one of the country's largest basic industries, confided that the whole discussion was nonsense. What was needed was a return to the good old tested virtues of thrift, wise government expenditure, and conditions under which the country's industrial leaders could plan production without fear of losing all their profits to a government taxing program.

Another stated that seventy percent of industry needed no conversion, and what was all the shooting about? I wish I could give you the names of these business oracles, but I promised not to.

AS A welcome change, I turned to trade union and Negro leaders. Bernard Segal, executive director of the Social Service Employes of the United Office and Professional Workers-CIO, said he thought our suggestion a good one. "It ought to be feasible," he said. "Of course, this plan could only be part of the whole employment program, but it presents a good way of laying hands on the funds necessary to do the job. The people being laid off ought to appreciate and support it. In fact, the sooner something like this plan is started, the better."

Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union and Labor candidate for reelection to the City Council, said essentially the same thing, stressing the fact that although a good idea, the NM 15 plus 15 proposal could be regarded as only a part of the total program. (NEW MASSES itself has made this clear from the outset.)

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, distinguished


SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9,

PUBLIC WORKS GOAL OF 2½ BILLION SET

Federal Projects Slated in Next 12 Months Include Delayed Harbor and Flood Jobs

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8 (AP)—Plans are ready for $2,500,000,000 worth of public construction to be undertaken in the next twelve months. Work can be put under way on many projects as soon as the War Production Board gives the word. There may be some delay on Federal projects, principally flood control, rivers and harbors and reclamation, until Congress appropriates the carrying funds.

Relaxation by the WPB of construction controls, except perhaps on housing, is expected about Oct. 1. That will be the impetus to release a great backlog of needed work which has accumulated during the war.

The $3,000,000,000 three-year Federal-aid road program is ready. The $500,000,000 Fe

Too little!

Too late!

The New York "Times" of September 9.

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Mr. Cannon Talks

Washington

CHAIRMAN CLARENCE CANNON (D., Mo.) of the House Appropriations Committee, interviewed on NEW MASSES' 15 plus 15 proposal, said—without great enthusiasm, it is true—that it "interests me very much." Mr. Cannon just had completed making a speech on the floor in favor of establishing annually a minimum amount for debt retirement. Mr. Cannon's conservatism is considerable, and he had pleaded that any "further growth of the public debt" be subject to scrutiny "be it incidental to demobilization, reconversion or the financing of regular activities." He confessed he was "not one of those who profess to feel no uneasiness about the proportions of the public debt."

Mr. Cannon looked over the issue of NEW MASSES which contained a photo of the telegram sent to him proposing his committee act on NM's proposal—which he had not seen, he said. He exuded a little warmth regarding a public works program—"we're way behind on our building program, and we need federal buildings and post offices, highways and flood control." But apparently he felt there is no rush about getting under way. "The evidence is that private employment can take care of the situation for the time being."

He tapped the NEW MASSES in his hand. "You're in error here, however," he said, amiably enough. "You say Congress took a vacation. But our telephones rang all day long at home. We had to push them out at night when we wanted to go to bed. It was no rest. Understand—I enjoy it, I like to rub shoulders with the people, I feel that I need to in order to represent their views. I'm not like the Congressman who said this morning that they drove him back to Washington. He couldn't stand it any more at home, he said."

Mr. Cannon, who used to teach history at Stevens College, in Columbia, Mo., comes from a rural district of thirteen counties with a total population of 214,757, which winds around St. Louis but manages to avoid any industrial centers. Therefore he had no delegations of unemployed workers while he was home, but, he said, "the unemployed must be taken care of, and the national income must be maintained to pay off the debt." Reducing the debt and keeping up purchasing power go together, he said.

He felt that we needed a national income of $125,000,000,000 (Secretary of the Treasury Fred Vinson had put it at $150,000,000,000) in order to have revenues of $20,000,000,000, possibly $25,000,000,000, which he thinks desirable. "It will take about $6,000;000,000 to take care of the veterans," he said. Asked about the theory of severance pay, he said he had not studied it. Likewise he would not commit himself on the pending Kilgore unemployment compensation bill, or the Murray bill setting up a Missouri Valley Authority.

VIRGINIA GARDNER.

Negro educator and head of the research bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wants the government to stand back of the employment program. As for government spending, he firmly believes that it is the business of government to insure full employment. Doxey Wilkerson, editor of the *People's Voice*, leading Negro weekly, thought our proposals a fine thing, as did Ludlow Werner, editor of New York *Age*, another Harlem newspaper. "Certainly the nation that is able to muster all of its forces and use all of its resources for war should be able to do the same for a program that would eliminate mass unemployment," said Mr. Werner. What worried him was the need for a permanent FEPC, so that the gains made by Negro people during the war would not be lost in the postwar period. An unemployed pool of Negro workers, argued Mr. Werner soundly, would affect the whole labor market, would provide artificial competition between Negro and white labor, and lower the standards of both.

I was fortunate in being able to get hold of Councilman Ben Davis, Jr., as he shuttled between his various meetings, the demands of his office, and the pressing details of the coming elections.

"I agree wholeheartedly with the imperative need to launch immediately a large scale public works program to guarantee maximum employment," he said.

"Congress must take the initiative at once on the basis of the Murray full employment bill project and organize a government works program to provide for the 'unreconverted' millions and for the millions of returning veterans. This program must be supported by FEPC legislation to guarantee equal employment to Negro workers who, under the present cutbacks, are suffering from mass discriminatory layoffs. No concessions to the bull-whippers in Congress and to the monopolies and trusts for whom they speak. Every voice must be raised now to support enactment of emergency job legislation."

IT IS obvious from even this brief survey that two patterns of thought exist. There is the thinking of the business tycoons who are convinced, or act as though they are convinced, that the difficulties of reconversion and reemployment are imaginary. The NAM, CED and others find that we are just a bunch of alarmists. The people should subside quietly while the good fairies of lumber and construction provide for all their needs. So forget your worries. Repair to the nearest movie house and immerse yourself in the adventures of Van Johnson.

On the other hand, there is the urgent, alert voice of labor, of a handful of serious government officials, of Negro leaders, who see disaster in this point of view. They argue that something must be done *now*. It looks as if it's going to take plain ordinary folks to put across the full employment bill, the twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks unemployment insurance bill, the permanent FEPC, such proposals as NM's 15 plus 15 plan, and other measures that are needed to protect millions of Americans against a future of poverty and insecurity.

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If you plan to move

this fall, by choice or because your sub-lessors have returned, it is an added thought for the day that the world around you is moving twice as fast and will continue to, long after you are temporarily settled in a tree-top, on your friend's studio couch, or in a cold-water flat. While you struggle to make furniture fit space never intended for it, and worry about storage for leftovers, the intricate problems of reconversion, full employment, twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks, eliminating the danger of inflation, are being pushed around in Congress. All of us, everywhere in the country, will be discussing and probing these questions. And NM realizes now, if ever, there is necessity for a critical readership.

No matter how tiny your physical living quarters, you WILL be seeing your friends. Show them the magazine; tell them what NEW MASSES is doing to carry forward the fight for those basic, decent living conditions which concern every world citizen. Ask them to subscribe to the weekly publication which gives them the straight facts they need to discuss, and to act upon.

Wherever you're sheltered, there is probably room for a book. We offer you that book—in return for talking to the people you know about the magazine and signing them up. Right is a list of titles. Any one of them is yours for two new one-year subs. Renewals do not count. Check your choice and help pile up NM's circulation.

"Oboler Omnibus," by Arch Oboler
"Sowing the Wind," by Martha Dodd
"African Journey," by Eslanda Goode Robeson
"The Pattern of Soviet Power," by Edgar Snow
"Dragon Harvest," by Upton Sinclair
"A Street in Bronzeville," by Gwendolyn Brooks
"Rickshaw Boy," by Lau Shaw

(Please turn to coupon on page 28)

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MAJOR ELIOT'S ATOMIC OYSTER

By JOHN STUART

THE only bounds restricting the growth of science in the capitalist community are not those of the scientific imagination, but the conditions of servitude, so to speak, under which scientists operate. In the United States they must wait for war until the riches of their cyclotrons, or the usefulness of a mathematical concept, are brought together and with the aid of a government subsidy produce a tornado from the atom. It is painful and harrowing to know that new worlds are at hand, that nature can be forced to yield another secret if only there were the funds for a coordinated, selfless research to assault and reduce a seeming mystery. I have worked in laboratories and I have witnessed enormous talent atrophy because a technical innovation threatened a capital investment. I have seen physicists bursting with anger because they were told the trend of their investigations was away from annihilating a rival corporation and towards a goal which the men out front disdainfully called "too pure and uncommercial."

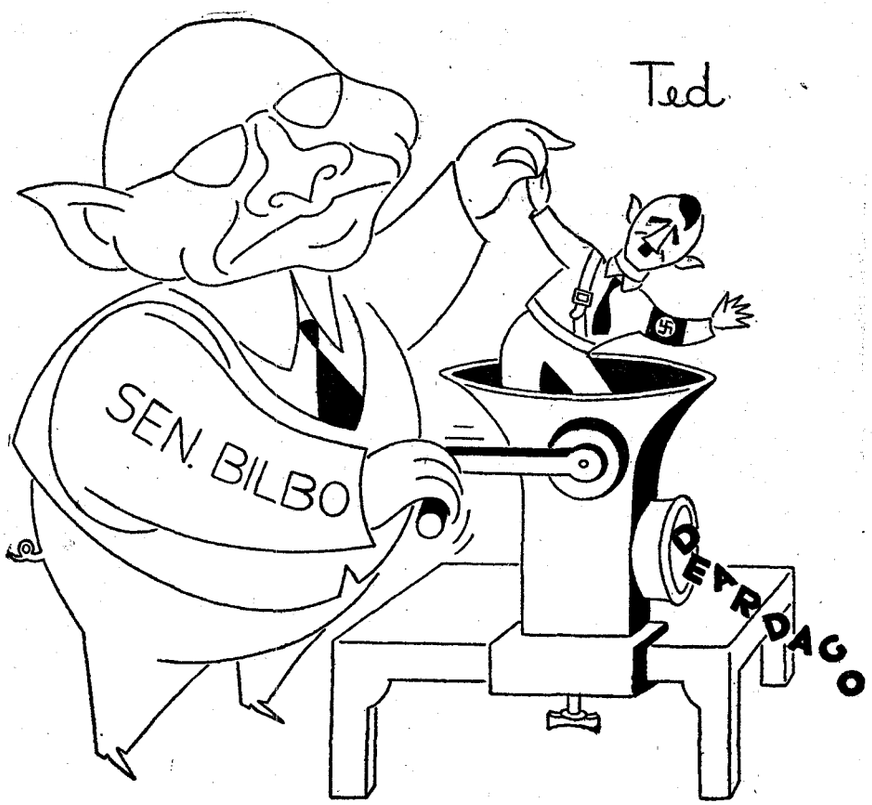
It has been a long time since I puttered around in a laboratory but the other day I read a piece in the New York *Herald Tribune* (August 27) that must have driven many a scientist with some sense of his worth and his work into a frenzy of frustration. The piece was a column by Major George Fielding Eliot, who regularly provides readers with expert comment on military affairs. And after I got through it I thought of how scientists—the kind that get their hands dirty working—not only have to contend in peacetime with the drivel that streams from the men on top but how they must contend—as often before—with those who would pervert their findings and thereby make the United States the pariah of the earth.

Major Eliot's column revolved about who shall control the atomic bomb. He has a ready answer even if he is not too comfortable in offering it. He says with all the arrogance of the rich uncle talking to his poverty-stricken and orphaned nephew that the bomb must remain in the hands of the English-speaking powers in order to make the rest of the world free and peaceful. There is no need, he adds, to share the secrets of the weapon with the Russians. We are not afraid of the British and the Canadians "because we know what they are doing all the time, and, of course, because we know that they are going in the same direction that we are going: their ways are our ways." But the ways of the Russians are different from ours: they are secretive; they are, says the Major in effect, an enslaved people. And with the heads of such a state we cannot share the mysteries of atomic power. Who knows but that it may be directed against us some day.

If there are scientists who still disdain politics, here, then, is proof that they are in politics whether they like it or not and whether they know it or not. That, however, is not the issue. The issue is the arrogance, the presumptuousness in the kind of thinking Major Eliot displays. Let it be said that he has shown himself more than once as being far from a fossilized tory. He is among the more enlightened conservatives; yet on the matter of maintaining American hegemony over the world—a hegemony to be guaranteed by the military superiority derived from splitting the atom—he speaks, naturally, with the same shrill phrases as the most hard-bitten, unreconstructed and unrepentant imperialist. The world is our oyster, he says, and let us make certain that the atomic bomb helps us keep it so.

MAJOR ELIOT would shout his innocence if he were charged with trying to bomb and pulverize the United Nations—most of which do not speak English—in the same way that the atomic bomb rubbed away most of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. What would he think if he lived in Louis Pasteur's time and some stupid Frenchman demanded that Pasteur's discoveries be held back from the rest of the world so that rabies and contaminated milk would keep other non-French speaking countries weak, their babies sick and ailing, while France used Pasteur's findings in order to dominate the globe? I may be oversimplifying but I think the truth in essence is there as it is in another analogy involving a Russian. Dmitri Mendeleyev made

(*Continued on page* 20)



Bilbo Tackles Reconversion.

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WARSAW'S NEW DAY

By DAVID ZASLAVSKY

Mr. Zaslavsky is "Pravda's" well known columnist.

Moscow (by wireless).

BEYOND the Kirov works just outside Leningrad on the way to Petrodvoretz, a strip of dead, scorched earth stretches for several miles between what were once German trenches and our trenches. Everywhere else a lush green has covered the traces of war. Here, however, death seems to defy it. Charred bare trees without any foliage stand like a group of skeletons.

To all appearances those trees are dead. Actually, however, there is life in them. While the limbs are bare, the trunk is wrapped in a green coat. It is life from healthy roots struggling to come to the surface. It finds an outlet through fissures in the trunk and it makes new paths for itself and covers the charred bark with young shoots of life coming into their own. The tree will live.

That is the picture that constantly comes to mind when you contemplate the panorama of dead, burned, wrecked Warsaw. Warsaw is an assemblage of skeletons of buildings. But Warsaw is alive and bent on living. And you want to talk not of the ruins of Warsaw, but of the Warsaw which is reviving; not of demolished houses, but of a nation of buildings, of the proud enthusiasm with which the new Polish government and the Polish people are rehabilitating the city they love.

But something must be said of the destruction too. It is necessary to dispel any ideas that Warsaw was destroyed during the hostilities, that it is a victim of war, that it fell prey to the element of fire. No, there was no accidental destruction. There was only the premeditated and deliberate and systematic destruction carried out by the Germans.

Nearly all of Warsaw has been wiped out. Only the districts of Mokotow and Zoliborz are relatively intact because here were the houses and headquarters of the German army. The destruction isn't of the same type everywhere. Apartment houses were, as a rule, consigned to flames. Their black skeletons are still there. The streets have been preserved. You can make your way between two rows of skeleton buildings whose shattered windows gape like eye-sockets in skulls. Buildings of historical value, on the other hand, have been blown up and turned into heaps of rubble.

The vast walled-in area where the Jewish Ghetto was has entirely disappeared. Not a wall, not a single chimney has survived. Former streets and squares are buried beneath one solid heap of rubble and debris. The destruction of the Ghetto was merely a first step in the execution of the plan to demolish the city. The Hitlerites were clearing the ground for the erection of their own Warsaw, a German Warsaw. German maps have been found which cast light on these designs. One is a relief map on which are marked all the historical buildings. Those buildings, as we know, have been razed to the ground. They were the first to be demolished. A solid mass of rubble is all that remains of the most ancient section of Warsaw—the "old town" with the famous castle and survivals of the old fortress wall. All the other historical monuments were demolished in the same way.

Another map represents the future German Warsaw. It was planned as a fortress and garrison city, an administrative and military center of the general government with a population of 250,000. The destruction of Warsaw was a preparatory step for the erection of this huge German barracks town.

The Hitlerites conceived their plan long ago. Before the war Dr. Dagobert Frey, prominent German professor and specialist in the history of art, made several visits to the National Museum at Warsaw. He showed keen interest in Polish art and engaged Polish scholars in polite conversation; he went into raptures over everything he saw and made copious notes of his impressions. There were other German visitors from the "Eastern European Institute" in Breslau. They all studied the monuments of Polish history, made notes, and were very civil and polite.

When German troops invaded Poland all those "scholars" came along with them. Many of them wore SS uniforms. Dr. Frey appeared in the National Museum at the head of a squad. He no longer engaged Polish art scholars in conversation. He gave orders. He was rude as befits a German bully and behaved like a swine. He had a detailed inventory and knew everything. He selected those monuments of Polish antiquity which could be palmed off as ancient German Gothic. Everything else was destroyed. No trace was to remain of Polish culture.

All Warsaw was marked out for destruction as the historical monument of the Polish people. The same policy was pursued by the German fascist invaders throughout Poland. Not only were all historical monuments to be destroyed but all trace of them was to be obliterated so that the very memory of the monuments might be wiped out along with them.

NEVERTHELESS Warsaw is alive. On the face of it there is nowhere to live within Warsaw; yet it already has a population of over 400,000. Its streets are thronged, business is brisk. Here and there you see window panes on the upper floor of some wrecked building where parts of walls have survived. You see flowers on the window sills and a housewife leaning out shouting something to friends in the street as if she were living in a real house. Life within Warsaw today is bizarre and amazing. It would be easier to live in other cities which have suffered less destruction but Warsawites insist on staying in their native city and each is busy fixing up some sort of home amid the ruins.

It was a politically wise decision that the Polish Provisional Government took when it moved the capital to Warsaw. It was a decision that showed strength, that showed confidence that the remarkable city would be restored and that no difficulties could daunt people who were determined to lift their country from ruins.

The difficulties are great. But the work of restoration has begun and is proceeding successfully. From the very beginning the Polish people, to whom the restoration of Warsaw is a great national task, have had the friendly aid of the Soviet people. The Soviet government, after consulting with representatives of the Republics bordering on Poland (the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian Republics), undertook to defray half the expenses involved in the reconstruction of Warsaw's principal sections. Red Army units are actively helping in the work of restoration.

Everywhere within Warsaw you come across the letters "BOS." You see them on the walls of houses, on the

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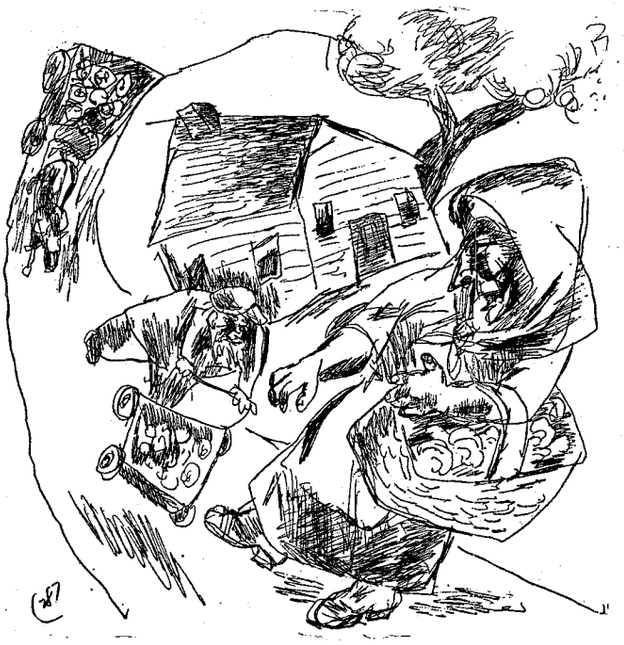
signboards of trucks. The letters stand for "*Biuro Odbudowy Storicy*"—the bureau for the restoration of the capital which is in charge of rehabilitation work. It is the biggest organization within Warsaw. It is subordinated to the supreme rehabilitation council which is presided over by Mr. Bierut, president of the national council. BOS has a staff of engineers and architects and it already employs over 30,000 workers.

The restoration of Warsaw cannot be tackled in an amateurish way. It is a huge job. It requires the creation of a large building industry to produce bricks and concrete, machines and glass. Vast quantities of machines and tools are needed. There is a great deal of preparatory work to be accomplished, such as the building of barracks for construction workers and the clearing of building sites. The job is expected to take ten years. Warsaw isn't merely being restored. It is going to be a new city. Warsaw was one of the finest cities in Europe. It will be a still finer city. Construction is planned to accommodate a population of 2,000,000.

Many of the historical monuments are beyond redemption. But the Germans didn't manage to destroy everything. The Red Army foiled their plans. In many places the Germans fled before they could set fire to their loot or take it along. Some monuments have been recovered. Prominent fascist officials stole the works of old Polish culture and Polish art. Some of these works have been preserved. German Governor General Franck set up his residence in Wawel, formerly the palace of Polish kings, within Cracow. He collected in his residence old art works stolen from the Polish museums. He fled, but the treasures have survived.

The work of restoration is going on full blast not only in Warsaw but also in the rest of Poland. The ministry for the restoration of the country has been set up with Professor Michal Kaczorowski at its head. Damage isn't everywhere as bad as in Warsaw. But everywhere there is a need to build and restore. Bridges are white with new planks and fresh paint shows where houses have healed their wounds. Everywhere there is a mixture of old and new. Within Warsaw streetcars have again appeared on repaired streets and soon busses will be running. But alongside them you still see horses pulling droshkies, or you see "rickshas"—pedalled bicycles with sidecars.

The splendid Polish youth are singing gay songs in the streets. But here and there some gloomy figures frown on them, their entire appearance expressing disbelief in the success of the great construction.



Sketch for a painting by Herbert Kruckman.

The thudding of axes is heard throughout Poland. And everywhere one sees our workers in Red Army uniforms. They helped Warsaw rise to its feet, get water and light. They built a bridge across the Vistula over which people walk in endless streams from Praga to Warsaw and back. Our workers erected a powerful radio station in Raszyn near Warsaw. Russians and Poles are working together hand in hand. Not in words only but in deeds, not only in war but in peace is manifested the friendship which began in common struggle against those who set out to destroy all Slavic culture.

In Gdansk and Gdynia Polish and Soviet workers have divided between themselves the work of restoration of ports: the Poles are working on land, our men in water. Our celebrated "EPRON" workers (the Soviet ship salvaging trust) are doing a splendid job in Polish waters raising sunken ships.

The Polish people are faced not only with a vast job of rehabilitating what the Germans have destroyed in the territory of former Poland: there is also the job of speedily assimilating what for centuries was part of Germany and has now again become Poland. The Polish people have come into possession of vast wealth as a result of the Red Army's victory. Apart from the huge iron and steel factories of former German Silesia, there are rich deposits of coal and lignite, zinc, iron ore, lead, silver, nickel, copper and tin in the lands now returned to the Polish people. Poland has also recovered tens of thousands of square kilometers of excellent and well cultivated farmland.

Work, work and work—that's the slogan of the new, free, independent Poland. There is land, there are factories. What is most needed is labor power. That is the urgent problem of Poland today. Let the Poles whom bitter fate has scattered throughout the world as emigrants return to their country. The Polish press daily calls its sons to come back. Poland needs every pair of hands, every Polish head that thinks of the native land.

In the light of this great national work for the rehabilitation of Poland, the foul and treasonable nature of the activity of the London clique, stands more fully revealed than ever. They are trying to obstruct the great work of Poland's rehabilitation, to hold back the Poles whom they have hoodwinked, forcing them to work in foreign lands, often for Germans, and to prevent them from taking part in the general patriotic movement that has swept Poland. But these designs of the fascist-minded Polish emigres will be foiled too.

We have seen the workers in the new Polish factories. We have seen the Polish peasants on the land of German landlords which has been transferred to them. All are eager to work, eager for free labor on their own land. The Poland of the fascist gentry was a stepmother to the working people and they sought escape in foreign countries. Democratic Poland is the true mother to its sons and daughters who are honest workers. Anyone visiting Poland as a friend cannot help experiencing a feeling of elation engendered by the picture of a nation at work, enthusiastically tackling the great job. It is a hard task to restore Poland's severely wounded economy. But the Polish people aren't alone. They have friends and good neighbors. The Soviet people helped the Polish people cast off the German yoke. They are also helping the Polish people in the great work of reconstruction.

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WITNESSES AGAINST DEPRESSION

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington

"AND how do you think your unemployment compensation bill is shaping up, Mr. Doughton?"

The redoubtable Mr. Doughton is a big, sparse, granite rock of a man. He is eighty-one years old and a demon for work, and it is sometimes suspected that his heart is about as yielding as the rock in the native hills of his district. As chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee Mr. Doughton consistently takes a tight-fisted banker's approach to any progressive measure. This is not surprising. Although he carefully lists himself in the *Congressional Directory* biographical section as "Robert L. Doughton, Democrat, Laurel Springs, N. C.; farmer by occupation. . . . ," Doughton has connections with a string of country banks in his far-flung mountain district. Once in his comparatively youthful days he and Mayor La Guardia, then in Congress, waged a stirring fight against a federal sales tax and more than anyone else were responsible for its defeat. That was in the Hoover depression and because of his fight he became an immensely popular figure in his state. He now is very sensitive about being reminded that he once championed the people's cause.

"There's no interest in the bill," Mr. Doughton answered me. "Don't know when I've seen anything there was less interest in. Few people at the hearings. Can't even get the committee to come, many of them." He was exceedingly glum.

Later, as the opposition witnesses went on before his committee, Doughton perked up considerably. Of course it is his bill they were considering—and the Forand bill, a replica of the Kilgore unemployment insurance bill before the Senate Finance Committee—but, he had said stoutly, "I introduced it on request of Judge Vinson, of course."

A few days later I tried to reach Mr. Doughton again. I wanted to ask if he had seen the full page ad in the Washington *Post* demanding reconversion legislation, listing unemployment compensation of twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks at the top of the list, and whether he thought that if the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers-CIO weren't interested in the bills mentioned they would be spending $878.40 for the ad—in addition to money for ads in the New York *Times*, Newark *Star-Ledger*, Boston *Globe* and other papers. I wasn't able to catch him, largely because the committee was sitting morning and afternoon to hear a string of state manufacturers' association and trade group officials, and the even more active lobbyists against the bill—state unemployment insurance authorities.

For a bill in which no one was interested, a surprising number of witnesses clamored to be heard on the final day of the hearing—including, as witnesses in behalf of the legislation, officials of the UE, the United Steel Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the National Maritime Union, all CIO. They were getting rather a shoving around as this was written, and were demanding an additional day if the committee refused to hear them testify before. Some fifty members of New York's District 4 of the UE, not being particularly anxious to hear a witness for the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, strolled over to call on Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach. A few days earlier Schwellenbach had pledged a lukewarm support for the Kilgore bill before the Senate Finance Committee, saying he was "in accord with the purpose of S-1274," and cautiously allowed as how there would be "sizable temporary unemployment" while "war workers will be looking for suitable peacetime jobs and demobilized veterans will be fitting themselves into the civilian economy."

Weinzweig.

He made it sound delightfully simple. But other witnesses brought out what sort of "suitable peacetime jobs" workers are being offered. The state unemployment compensation people who testified before both committees said they ought to get "the jobs they had before the war"—as domestics or waitresses, for example. Thus women who've been making ninety cents an hour may be offered ten-dollar-a-week jobs. If they don't take them, they are deprived of benefits. If they continue to hold out for better jobs, they will be denied benefits altogether.

The plausible Texas unemployment compensation gentlemen, who carefully exaggerate their Southern accents, their colloquialisms and corny stories for the benefit of the enraptured Mr. Doughton, don't disqualify jobless workers for receiving employment compensation just out of the malevolence of their hearts. They have a reason for doing it: the more who are disqualified, the lower the "experience rate" of the employer and the less social security taxes he must pay. The lower the taxes the more the state advertises to industrialists what a fine site it is for their enterprises. There is terrific competition among state unemployment organizations for favorable ranks. The Texas official Claude Williams, in a letter to Texas manufacturers, said they would save $91,000,000 a year if the twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks bill were defeated.

"Of course it's a God-given right to work where a man chooses to work," Williams said. He admitted a lot of people were accusing the unemployment compensation people of forcing them to work for low wages, but denied it was so. "But if we did force them to, I think they'd be a whole lot better off, and the national morale would be better off." Every man had to take a chance, he said—just as he himself was going to do come October 1 "when I hang out my li'l ole shingle and hope I get some clients here." (So long as Texas' Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel stays in the Senate, Williams will have plenty of clients, at any rate.)

As this is written the Kilgore bill

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is, to all appearances, being murdered in the Senate committee. A bill will be reported out, but there may not be any unemployment compensation left in it. Both the AFL and the CIO legislative departments assured me that a fight would be made on the floor to restore necessary provisions to the bill or add others. It is expected that if nothing else is done on the twenty-five dollars a week maximum set in the bill, it could be included as a permissive feature and the fight could then be taken to state legislatures in states where the local administration is opposed to such a measure, or says the state law conflicts, or finds other reasons for not taking advantage of such a permissive feature. It is mandatory as now written.

Pres. F. E. Black of the Kansas Federation of Labor told the Senate Finance Committee the story of the struggle involved in getting one state legislature to raise the benefits from fifteen to sixteen dollars, and the duration from sixteen to twenty weeks.

"Do you represent the views of your governor?" asked Sen. Eugene D. Millikin, Republican hatchet man and corporation lawyer from Denver, in sonorous tones. With each witness Millikin sang one song: that the state could afford to give more benefits if more benefits should be given. A neat division of labor left it to Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (R., Mich.) to indulge his favorite theme: that how much the worker got wasn't important, it was for how long he got it. Mr. Black made short shrift of that, however. He called it "slow starvation." To Millikin's statement that he was under the impression that it was "possible to raise benefits in Kansas," Black replied, "I think it is, but they won't do it. We did all we could, and got a dollar." With a sigh, he said, "You don't know our Kansas legislature."

The Kansas witness went on to say that their Senate was made up of "attorneys who are employed by industries." The state of liberalism in the Kansas House was made particularly vivid by Mr. Black's insistence that these Kansas Senators were "more liberal-minded than the members of the House." They would have raised benefits to eighteen dollars.

WHEN Capt. H. Martin of the Masters, Mates and Pilots-AFL told the committee that "eleven or twelve thousand officers will be let out and 115,000 crew members won't be reemployed," Sen. Owen Brewster (R., Me.), who sometimes likes to pose as a liberal, appeared downright alarmed. "You don't mean we have to support those people forever?" he asked.

Sen. Robert A. Taft, sitting in on the committee now that the Full Employment Bill hearings are at an end—he is on both Banking and Currency and Finance Committees—quack-quacked in his most "reasonable" tones: "Of course the Army has trained millions of boys and they have to find other things to do now. How many—er—masters, mates and pilots are there?" The witness said that "after the last war the country did the same thing they're trying now—tied up thousands of ships and put them in the back rivers. They didn't care what became of the men." Taft smiled indulgently.

But the mass delegations the CIO is planning will hit Washington just about the time the bill hits the floor of Congress. Chances are there will be fewer patronizing smiles on the faces of Senators by that time. CIO unions are compiling impressive figures of layoffs per congressional district. The workers are "clamoring to get going," are demanding instructions from their Washington representatives on what to do, one union office here said. "We're just holding them back until the right time, but that isn't far away."

●

THROUGHOUT the Full Employment Bill hearings, one of the faithfuls who attended every session, seated at the left of the Finance Committee chairman—Sen. Robert Wagner—was Sen. Glen Taylor, Idaho Democrat. Taylor looks like a matinee idol and is second only to Senator Wagner in the fastidiousness of his dress. Senator Wagner wore beautiful white serge double-breasted suits and Senator Taylor wore a plain gray one, but with an air. Senator Taylor not only looks like an actor but has been one; he managed his own company before the depression caught him. "By accident," he says, "I read a book—and kept on reading. It was a book on economics, too." And Senator Taylor knows the score.

I dropped into his office to talk about the Full Employment Bill, the Kilgore bill and others. "The Full Employment Bill will be reported out, and it will pass, all right," he said, chewing his cold cigar. "The boys who worry about where the money comes from, but not about the people, will vote for it—with tongue in cheek, like they did for the Charter. It's another Fulbright-Connally resolution [for international keeping of the peace]. The boys think it just means hiring some statisticians. When it comes to enabling legislation, that will be the test. These people don't dare say they're against full employment. But the measure of their support can be seen in how cautious they are about the word 'assure.' They want it cut out and something milder used. Jobs shouldn't be 'assured' to people, or even the right to a job."

In the midst of the interview I tried to see what furry animal was skulking behind the Senator's desk. I craned my neck.

"No, that's not a dog," he said. "That's my son."

I caught sight of a shock of black curly hair and one blue eye which winked solemnly at me before the boy dived behind some other fortress. He never fully emerged, but continued the game. A box of toys and his younger brother's tricycle were in one corner of the room. Dora, the Senator's dark-eyed wife, came in with various letters. I began to feel that the Taylors of Idaho were an asset to the Washington scene. "I don't think the reactionaries of this country have learned a thing in the last sixteen years," Senator Taylor said. He didn't know what was coming, but he had come to Washington because he was interested in the economic well-being of the people and he meant to do something about it now he was here.

He learned what it was all about, he told me, after the lean years when his acting company had shrunk to four—all family members. They played in towns where the talkies hadn't hit, in schoolhouses—often accepting poultry and vegetables for tickets. "Those people were starving," he said. "I read and read. Then I read somewhere that the object of all knowledge is action—you might as well throw books away and quit reading if you're never going to do anything." He went to Pocatello, Idaho—he'd come from Kooskia, a town of 400 people—and the battle was a long one. From 1938 on he ran for Congress, or the Senate. The newspapers ignored him or made fun of him. He had to get publicity—so he went out with cowboy bands, he rode a horse throught the state; but always he talked issues. The state machine had opposed or ignored him. But he finally defeated D. Worth Clark by 216 votes in the last nomination, and then, at long last, the Democratic party got behind him, and he beat the governor by 4,700 votes.

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BETRAYAL IN JAPAN?

As AMERICAN troops were extending their occupation of Japan there were increasing signs that our government is playing a dangerous game. Military victory was, of course, the precondition of political victory. But where is there any indication that the United States proposes to consolidate the great military triumph over Japan at the political level?

The evidence accumulates that American policy towards Japan amounts to much more than military expediency. Steps are being taken, policy statements made, other measures and expressions of policy are being avoided—and it all adds up to what may be a preview of one of the most gigantic sellouts of history. Take, for example, the text of General MacArthur's statement on the occupation of Japan issued by his headquarters last week. Although it pays lip service to the Potsdam Agreement it is in essence a violation of that agreement. Japan's economy will practically remain untouched. The monopolists will retain their property rights and their liberty—the same monopolists who financed Japan's war of aggression and provided the militarists with weapons.

Japan's fascist police are to assist American troops to keep order in Japan. Furthermore, no attempts will be made for the time being to replace the Japanese in Korea; Tokyo's military-fascist government which started the war remains intact. The Diet is even permitted to meet—an act which correspondents have pointed out is equivalent to allowing the Nazis to hold a convention after Germany's defeat. MacArthur's headquarters also issues statements praising the Japanese government for the smoothness with which the surrender is being carried out. The Emperor and his prime minister make speeches assuring the Japanese people that the loss of the war is but a temporary setback. Evidence grows that Japanese are secreting arms to be used by a secretely built army. Domei, the Japanese news agency, is allowed to continue its anti-United Nations propaganda.

We are told by Toyohiko Kagawa that Japanese trade unions are being revived. But Kagawa happens to be a man who before the war fooled many foreigners with his "safe" radicalism, his pacifism and Social Democratic role in a peasant cooperative movement. Yet this man, whose cooperatives so well served the ruling classes, was an active anti-American propagandist during the war and his "safe" radicalism appealed to the anti-democrats. He now plays a prominent role in the government of the fascist fanatic, Prince Higashi-Kuni.

What trade unions are scheduled to be revived? Before the war there were three union groups: the outright fascist federation, which became the nucleus of the wartime Sampo, or Japanese Patriotic Industrial Society; the Kumiai Kaigi, which opposed trade union unity, was anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, supported the invasion of China, and may in general be classified as Social Democratic; and, finally, the "legal left" unions under the leadership of the militant Kanju Kato. The latter constituted the only genuine trade union movement. Do we hear of Kanju Kato today? Does Kagawa refer to him or to his unions? Obviously the fascist government, through the agency of such demagogues as Kagawa, plans to re-establish only phony labor organizations under its own control.

We are told that political parties are to be revived, including a so-called Liberal Party and the Japan Social Mass Party, embracing Japan's "proletarian leaders." The latter is clearly to be modelled upon the pre-war Social Mass Party which, while posing as a people's political organ, betrayed them by supporting the "Manchurian incident" and the war against China. Do we hear of the legalization of the Japanese Communists? Is the great mass leader, Okano, to be brought back from China? Do we hear of anything in the Japanese government's plans which even hints at democracy?

The American State Department has published a memorandum on Japanese atrocities and the American prisoner victims. Both the US government and the Army demand the trial of the perpetrators of these horrors as war criminals. In this they will receive the widest support. But what about the fascist rulers of Japan whose policies were responsible for such brutalities? What about the Emperor and his sniveling courtiers? What about the cabinet ministers, the generals and admirals, the industrial magnates who ran the business end of the war? Are they not to be tried for their crimes? No American official has publicly mentioned them. To go a step further on this point of war criminals: it was against our Chinese allies, not only against the Americans, that the Far Eastern war's greatest horrors were perpetrated. Remember the rape of Nanking and a hundred other similar outrages in China. Is the American government taking no cognizance of the atrocities in China?

The danger signals are up and we must take our warning. All the signs point to one fact: that the American government's kid glove policy carried out by MacArthur means that the Japanese militarists and their accomplices among the financiers will not be crushed and their power destroyed. And if the seats of these aggressors are left untouched then there will be no peace in the Far East and new Pearl Harbors are in the making. It will take pressure and more pressure to let Washington know that the families of millions of men who have fought in the Pacific will not tolerate what at this moment looks to be a wholesale betrayal. It will take the country at large to hammer home the point that its sacrifices in men and treasure must not be in vain.

"Order" in China

WHEN it was announced that Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, had agreed to negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking, there were high hopes that at long last unity and democracy would be reestablished in China. These hopes have not been abandoned. They have not, however, been strengthened by Chiang Kai-shek's V-J Day speech which repeated the now familiar formula of the reactionary dictatorship. It differed from previous addresses only in form. In content there was nothing new. Chiang again put forward a program based upon two essential points: first, the holding of a National Assembly for the purpose of adopting a constitu-

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on; and, second, the elimination of all political armies as a prerequisite to national unity. Both points are the denial of unity and democracy. Both are designed to perpetuate the present feudal-based and fascist-inclined dictatorship. The National Assembly as proposed by the Kuomintang and in no essential way modified by Chiang's speech is to be composed of delegates chosen in 1936 by the dictatorship. The constitution was drafted in the early 1930's and is no more than a thinly disguised instrument for the prolongation of the dictatorship on a quasi-legal basis. The demand for eliminating political armies refers of course to the Eighth and New Fourth Armies under Communist leadership which represent the only guarantee within China against the consolidation of Chungking's corrupt rule. Only on the basis of democracy and a coalition government will the nationalization of all China's armed forces become possible.

The role of the American government and military is no more encouraging. General Wedemeyer and his colleagues are carrying out the State Department's political policy by flying Kuomintang troops into Nanking and other cities to ally Chungking and American forces with Chinese quislings (and even with Japanese troops) for the maintenance of "law and order." Against whom? Not against the enemy. Against the Chinese people, their trade unions and their guerrilla and regular armed forces. This "redeployment" of Chiang's personal troops by American planes in the midst of the Chungking negotiations makes it quite clear in which direction Washington wishes to weight the discussions.

The Communists' Anniversary

TO MANY thousands of American workers the twenty-sixth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party will bring enormous pride and a renewed sense of its place in shaping the country's future. Those who have directly participated in its work have special reason to be happy. They have in recent months seen the deadly hand of revisionism removed from the Party—a revisionism that threatened to liquidate its existence and throw its achievements to the winds. It is a mark of the American Communists' growing maturity that once the distortions of Marxist theory and practice were pointed out, they quickly took steps to eradicate them. That, as Lenin once observed, is a token of a serious movement.

The Communist Party over the years introduced fresh currents into American life and there is hardly a phase of our culture and politics that has not benefitted from its outlook and work. One need only go back to the early thirties to see how the critical thinking of Communists affected novelists, poets, playwrights and painters. To be sure, it was not the Communists and their Party alone which influenced an enormous cultural reevaluation. The times themselves were paramount. But it was the special understanding which the Communists provided that gave freshness to the work of many a writer and saved him from the black pit of cynicism and pessimism. The Communists were in the forefront of the battle against unemployment; in defense of Negro rights; for the recognition of the Soviet Union and the maintenance of good relations with her; they took part in the unrelenting contest against fascism in every form; against anti-Semitism; for the welding of a world collective security; for the rights of the Spanish and Chinese peoples when their oppressors were being appeased by the highest government circles; for the building of industrial unionism. And in this war the campagn for a Second Front and all-out mobilization for victory revealed the work of the Communists as outstanding. These are chapters in an indelible, rich record—chapters that can be matched again when every error of revisionism is finally overcome. It will not be easy but the test of success will be found in the Party's campaign to hasten reconversion, in fighting off the monopolists and their plans for mass unemployment, in showing American workers that the permanent answer to war and insecurity is socialism.

The anniversary celebration will take place in Madison Square Garden, Tuesday, September 18. None of our New York readers will want to miss it.

The Spot on the Apple

AT THIS writing the circumstances attending the formation of the new Spanish Republican cabinet in Mexico City are far from clear. Information is lacking on a number of points but the establishment of the cabinet can be a positive step against Franco. Unfortunately the cabinet is not broadly representative and that is its most serious shortcoming. As it is presently constituted the Socialists, the UGT (the most powerful Spanish trade union organization), the Communists, groups of the Left Republicans, and the Federal Party are excluded and their absence may be interpreted as indicating a programmatic difference over resistance policy. In other words, the unity on which Negrin, the former Republican premier, has insisted before he could accept a post—the unity of all significant anti-fascist forces—has not yet been achieved. And there is reason to believe that the responsibility for this failure rests again on those in and out of the cabinet who even during the Spanish war fought against a coalition government.

In this connection an interesting sidelight hardly noticed in American newspapers was Dr. Negrin's speech made in Mexico on August 1. There he described the intrigue and defeatism during the Spanish war among certain Republican leaders, with the final result that Madrid was opened to Franco by the treachery of Colonel Casado. Defeatism was worst in the War Ministry, and while Dr. Negrin did not mention his name, all those who listened knew that he was referring to Indalecio Prieto, the ministry's chief. Prieto, a right-wing Socialist, was opposed to Republican unity then as he is now, and his opposition tactics in exile have had all the adornments of the political wrecker.

Time, of course, and the Spanish people themselves will ultimately decide the composition of the Spanish Republican government. Meanwhile all pressure should be put on Washington to break with Franco and to translate into deeds President Truman's recent verbal castigation of the tottering Caudillo. Endorsement of the Coffee Resolution (HR 312) by millions of Americans

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will help considerably in making both the White House and the State Department realize that there will have to be bite in addition to bark.

The Italian Colonies

SECRETARY OF STATE BYRNES told correspondents last week that he and the President had come to a decision about the disposal of the Italian colonies—Eritrea, Libya and Italian Somaliland. He did not disclose what the decision was, but whatever it is, he is presenting it to the foreign ministers currently meeting in London. Wisdom and compliance with the San Francisco Charter would dictate that these colonies revert not to Rome but be turned over in trusteeship to the United Nations Organization without jeopardizing the rights of the people in those territories to determine their future for themselves. Any other decision would mean a prolongation of the colonial system with all its evils and with all the risks involved in maintaining peace. The joint administration of Tangiers now becomes adequate precedent, and although London will not like the trusteeship approach, there is no other course. The whole colonial world will watch the outcome of the question, and an answer which violates the promise of the Charter will cause the deepest disillusionment, not to speak of serious internal repercussions.

Mr. Byrnes also admitted that there had been disagreement in his department when the issue of the Italian colonies came up. A story by James B. Reston in the New York *Times* of September 2 paints a fair picture of how officials in the State Department were lining up on a basic issue involving the whole postwar territorial settlement. Reston reports, and there is little reason to doubt him, that a group headed by Assistant Secretary James C. Dunn, one of the Department's gilded reactionaries and accomplished cookie pushers, insisted that the Italian colonies be returned to Italy and not to the UNO in order to keep the USSR from playing a role in strategic areas of the world. Obviously Dunn would like to use Italy as a buffer against the Soviet Union in the old game of power politics. If Mr. Dunn had his way, it would mean an eventual collapse of the United Nations and certainly the first steps toward international conflict. And the tragedy of it is that Dunn is one of the State Department's key figures in charge of European, as well as of African and Near Eastern affairs. It's about time that Dunn were given his walking papers. Joseph Grew needs the right kind of companions.

Whose Profits?

UNLESS a drastic rise in the American consumer's income is achieved, our economy is heading into severe convulsions. Last week the War Production Board issued a report on wartime profits and production that dramatically illustrates the explosive potentialities within our economic structure. The output of all factories doubled during the war years. This doubling of the volume of the national product was achieved with only a twenty percent increase in manpower. The over-all increase of labor costs was fifty percent, much of it due to overtime (now eliminated). The profits before taxes rose 350 percent over pre-war years, and after all taxation they were still at 120 percent. Simultaneously consumers' living costs rose over forty percent, cancelling out the great part of wage increases. This historically unprecedented increase in the volume of goods, productive capacity, and profits, in contrast to the relatively stationary average income of consumers, could continue uninterruptedly for five years only because the government purchased for war purposes almost half of the goods produced.

Now that the war is over the chief customer of our national production is no longer in the market. Now the volume of national production must be bought up by the ordinary consumers, the overwhelming majority of whom are wage earners, farmers, professionals, and salaried employes. This would not be very difficult if their total annual income approximated the value of the national production, and if their income automatically rose with the rise in the volume of production. Such was, however, not the case either before the war or today. This is due primarily to the fact that the vast and mounting volume of profits represents the difference between consumers' income (wages and salaries) and the total value of annual production. Our country's working population simply cannot buy the products of national labor because its income is insufficient. This is the cardinal contradiction of capitalism from which all its evils flow.

The various proposals of the labor movement and other progressive forces for higher wage standards, adequate unemployment insurance, etc., are directed toward raising the national consumers' income to enable the people to purchase a larger share of the national product and thus maintain a relatively high level of production. In addition, it is essential that high profits be taxed by the government and the proceeds used for large-scale socially useful public works as a permanent means of increasing employment. But not even these measures can under the present economic system eliminate periodic crises of over-production. Exhorbitantly high profits in a capitalist economy are a symptom of approaching crisis that can, however, be delayed or ameliorated by increasing the income of the people.

Democracy as Export

Believe-It-Or-Not Ripley might use this one: ex-Congressman Joe Starnes, one of the boss-man unAmericans of the Dies Committee, who was repudiated last year by the voters of his own state, is one of the officers (a colonel, no less) entrusted with democratizing the Nazis!

And the Negro newspaper, "The Norfolk Journal and Guide," ripped into the democratic pretenses of Secretary of State Byrnes, who recently chided the Bulgarian government and its election plans as "undemocratic." The Negro paper cabled Premiers Stalin and Attlee to use their influence to assure democratic elections in Byrnes' own poll-tax state of South Carolina.

Vets and the Rest of Us

THERE is a spirit of genuine human concern for the returning veteran in Bernard Baruch's report of last week to Gen. Omar Bradley, new head of the Veterans Administration. The report, prepared at the request of the late President Roosevelt, clearly implies that the recent change of the Veterans Administrator was conceived as a prelude to a fundamental change of approach in the treatment and consideration of veterans' aid. Baruch points out that the vets with their immediate families comprise a fourth of the nation, that their central problem is the job problem, and that the employment of the veterans must be considered as inseparable

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Don Goldstein and Sancho Dewey.

from the national responsibility of finding jobs for all who are dislocated by the problems of reconversion. Baruch recommends the appointment of a vigorous and imaginative "work director" to cooperate closely with labor and business groups on the over-all problems of human demobilization. His sharp warning that there will be a grim price to pay for not integrating the veterans' problems with those of our 7,000,000 or so war workers needs to be dinned into Congress' ears, especially in view of his reminder that although the creation of a "work director" was recommended in the Baruch Report of February 1944, "an effective program of human demobilization is still lacking."

Baruch proposes in general a speedy and thorough reorganization of the entire VA to increase efficiency and to establish an atmosphere where veterans can be treated with dignity; in particular clear-cut separation of medical and non-medical aid, the provision and maintenance of really competent personnel, the creation "small, fast-working committees" to modernize and humanize each of the divisions, the overhauling of the GI Bill of Rights to provide, among other things, for the extension of loans for homes, farms and small businesses to ten years instead of the present two.

Both the spirit and the content of the Baruch report will be welcomed by the veterans and supported by the great mass of the people from whose ranks they were selected. We hope to see General Bradley accept and carry out these recommendations with the same spirit and energy he displayed in achieving the military victory over the Nazi armies. Responsible leaders in the Veterans Administration and Congress must be constantly reminded that our veterans of the armed forces and the production front fought this people's war not only to liberate the world from fascism but also to banish want, injustice and insecurity from our own midst.

Here and There

OLD dogs at old tricks: Franco submitting to a new international supervision at Tangier but Red-bogeying about Soviet participation. And Quisling justifying his treachery on the ground that he was saving Norway from the Bolsheviks!

• Some more of "neutral" little Switzerland's services to the Nazis came to light when examination disclosed three additional American firms kept under German control through stock transfers to dummy Swiss corporations.

• Real skids were put under the German war lord class, the Junker landowners, when the anti-fascist democratic bloc in Saxony and Brandenburg, in the zone of Soviet occupation, began the division of Junker estates among German peasants.

• One wit sees in the overwhelming Soviet victory in the international chess match another proof that the Soviets are able to deal with kings and queens better than their rivals.

• A new crop of emigre reactionaries, apparently destined for a role similar to that of the White Guards after the Russian revolution, are being given Anglo-American protection. The latest act is the official protection [illegible] American representative in Bulgaria, Maynard Barnes, to Georgi Dimitrov (not to be confused with the hero of the Reichstag trial), conspirator against the Bulgarian government, who has flown out of Bulgaria in an American plane.

• Two recent polls reflect the role of the American press as an organ of public information. Analyzing answers given to questions of fact about the Soviet Union, the *Fortune* [illegible] notes that only twelve percent [illegible] well informed and twenty-two percent fairly well informed. The remaining sixty-six percent proved uninformed or badly informed—*Fortune* P[illegible] euphemism for misinformed. Considering that this misinformation reflected the anti-Soviet tone in the press, which often falsifies its own reports in its captions and angling, it is all the more gratifying to find American opinion overcoming these disadvantages. The latest Gallup Poll on the question "Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us after the war?" received fifty-four percent affirmative answers as against thirty percent in the negative, and sixteen percent undecided. This was a rise of nine percent in the affirmative answers over a poll on the same question taken in June.

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• The goulish extreme to which "free enterprise" can go is appropriately illustrated in the undertakers' lobby in Washington. The lobby is opposing the pending Congressional bill for seventy-nine national cemeteries equipped with mortuaries. "All the undertakers would get out of a veteran's funeral," complains their spokesman, Grayton C. Echols, "would be $4.50 for embalming." It should be explained that the take under previous arrangements was $100, which the lobby calculates at a billion dollar total that may slip out of its fingers.

• Was it mere journalistic enterprise or fellow-feeling that prompted the Hearst organization to acquire exclusive rights to the published works of that self-anointed patriot, Tokyo Rose?

Truman and Jobs

(*Continued from page* 4)

control of our economy during the war. It is hardly sufficient to say now: "I am sure that the Congress will see to it that in its legislation adequate protection and encouragement will be given to the small business of the nation." And the absence of any proposals to curb monopolistic evils will help neither small business nor the nation.

It should also be said that major reliance on private enterprise, which is central in the President's approach, will be found inadequate for the long-term task of assuring full employment. NEW MASSES believes that a much larger measure of government intervention, leading to the nationalization of key industries, will eventually be necessary. For the present the government certainly should operate those war plants constructed with public funds which private enterprise cannot or will not operate on a full employment basis.

The message does not deal with foreign policy except that it reiterates the administration's position on Bretton Woods and reaffirms the new policy on lend-lease, which has done damage not only to our allies but to our own need to maintain employment. Mr. Truman also urges repeal of the Johnson Act and increased appropriations for UNRRA. Foreign policy in both its economic and political aspects cannot, however, be separated from domestic policy. It is impossible to assure for very long high employment levels and rising living standards if under the guise of formal United Nations cooperation our government pursues a policy of coddling fascism in Japan, harrying democracy in Europe and Asia, and in general swinging its weight for imperialist purposes. Big business has emerged from the war more grab-minded than ever—the Sinclair Oil agreement with the Ethiopian government for control of all that country's oil resources, announced the very day of the President's message, is one straw in the wind. The fight for jobs is a fight against the influence of reactionary monopoly not only in the domestic sphere, but in foreign affairs as well. This battle is not going to be won by letting some other fellow do the fighting. It will be won only by the organized efforts of workers, farmers, veterans, small business and professional people. Their joined strength can build a peace worthy of the blood and suffering that wrested victory in the war.

Major Eliot

(*Continued from page* 10)

a most notable contribution to physical chemistry during the days of the Czars with his formulation of the periodic table foretelling the existence and even the properties of unknown elements, several of which have since been discovered. What would Major Eliot have thought if the Czarist government of the 1870's had insisted that these investigations, involving the problem of atomic weights, be kept solely by Russian-speaking peoples to make the world Czarist Russia's oyster?

In contemporary world politics it is not bombs that make war, any more than flowers make rain. And it is not the atomic bomb nor the split atom that will cause conflict among states. It is the politics that accompany these discoveries, the politics that accompany technological advances whereby the imperialists of the country in which the advances are made use them to subjugate other nations. Major Eliot's politics are exactly those that would ring the Soviet Union with a new kind of *cordon sanitaire*—a cordon made up of the power latent in the uranium atom. And to justify this he must misrepresent Soviet democracy and resort to fabrications about the USSR—fabrications which a good part of the world hoped would be buried along with the Nazi state whence they originated. It is not the first time that a writer has made deliberate falsehoods about an ally in order to destroy the alliance.

Edith Miller.

In what Major Eliot has written there is hardly a suggestion that if the world of the future lies somewhere between the neutron and the proton, then that world must be shared by all of democratic mankind and not just the "English-speaking powers." Instead he would use the sweat and toil of American science to make the world America's private bailiwick. And with the way things are going between Washington and London I would not be surprised if Major Eliot suggested soon that other secret weapons in the American arsenal be kept from the British lest they complain too much about the ending of lend-lease or fail to give up their markets to the "peace-loving" American monopolists. In other words, Eliot would employ the atomic bomb to give America a "superior bargaining position to get free access to the rest of the world." The words are his. They are plain, and their intent is even plainer.

But there is a way of thwarting the aggressive plans outlined by Eliot, and that is to place the atomic bomb within the jurisdiction of the United Nations Organization. What other function can the UNO have basically if not to convert the weapons of war into weapons of peace? Everything that happened at San Francisco would seem a tragic farce if the Eliots were allowed the opportunity to subvert the objectives of collective security to unilateral security while the rest of the world was left with a gnawing anxiety about how the atomic bomb would be used by the country that developed it. And out of that anxiety would evolve a frantic rush for even more powerful weapons. Their control by the UNO is not only a minimum safeguard of the spirit of grand alliance but also a fair guarantee that aggressors in the future can be stopped in their tracks. I can only wish that Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Truman would get together with Mr. Stettinius who, as the American representative to the UNO, was reported as hoping that the atomic bomb might be taken over by it. Otherwise it will not be unfair to believe that in high Washington circles the thinking is not too different from that of Major Eliot.

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READERS' FORUM

On NM's 15 Plus 15 Plan

To New Masses: May I commend the editors of New Masses for their telegram to Washington advocating severance pay for war workers and the inauguration *now* of a public works program to be financed in the same way war production would have been financed, had the war budget been required for the balance of the current year.

WPB chairman Krug is publicizing his pleasure at the rapid conversion of industry to consumer goods production. This is all to the good and the natural result of the operation of normal American business incentives. However, reconversion in itself does not guarantee full employment nor does it solve the problem of the sufficiency of purchasing power in the hands of the general public. In view of the widespread sudden layoffs, the drop in such purchasing power cannot be disregarded. Your proposal seems to me to strike directly at both these inescapable considerations.

Wm. H. Melish.
Associate Rector,
Church of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn.

The Role of the Poet

To New Masses: The letter from Fred Blair, (New Masses, July 31) calling for the development of people's poets makes a number of pointed and important observations which needed to be made. Especially is this true about his plea for verse forms which facilitate communication, and for forms which make possible easy comprehension, memorizing, singing. And he stands on solid Marxist ground in calling for a critical assimilation of our heritage of poetic forms instead of sterile and eclectic search for novelty. At the Soviet Writers Congress of 1934 A. A. Zhdanov, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, urged the writers to make just such a critical assimilation of the literary heritage of all epochs; he urged them "to employ different genres, styles, forms, and methods of literary creation in their diversity and fullness, selecting all the best that has been created in this sphere by all previous epochs, to carefully gather up this heritage, to study it and advance it further." And many of us in Wisconsin feel that Fred has obeyed his admonitions, that we have in him a people's poet whose verses and songs we comprehend in thought and feeling. New Masses should publish from them.

But it seems to me that Fred in his letter unjustly narrows and limits the role of the poet and poetry and, by implication, all art. He says, "The poet is not a prophet or a world maker," that "That role was carried out by the development of the productive forces and by those large groups of people who were identified with the progressive economic and political changes."

Does that mean that individuals cannot "make" or change the world? What about those individuals who organize, mobilize, and lead "those large groups of people"? What about Marx and Lenin and Stalin? Stalin in *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* speaks about "the tremendous organizing, mobilizing, and transforming value of new ideas . . . (which) force their way through and become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society." Are not artists, including poets, important among those who bring these new ideas to the masses?

Stalin described Soviet writers as "engineers of human souls," and Zhdanov calls on them to remold the mentality, the consciousness of their readers, and adds that "Soviet literature must be able to glimpse our tomorrow." He further describes revolutionary literature as "A literature which has organized the toilers and the oppressed for the struggle to abolish once and for all every kind of exploitation." Here it would seem is world changing and prophecy too.

At the same congress Maxim Gorky, in dealing with a specific form of literature, revolutionary romanticism, expressed himself on the world changing capacities of literature: "Myth is invention. To invent means to extract from the sum of a given reality its cardinal idea and embody it in imagery—that is how we got realism. But if to the idea extracted from the given reality we add —completing the idea, by the logic of hypothesis—the desired, the possible, and thus supplement the image, we obtain that romanticism which is at the basis of myth and is highly beneficial in that it tends to provoke a revolutionary attitude to reality, an attitude that changes the world in a practical way."

Enough of quotations.

Elsewhere in his letter, Fred Blair says that the poet (and I take it this applies to other artists as well) "must communicate in his own way the ideas of the political and theoretical leaders of the progressive movement of humanity; his language should help stir those moods among the people that will cause them to do great deeds for progress behind the real leaders and organizers of the people's struggle for freedom."

Wait a minute. Cannot the artist implement his insight with the science of Marxism, of which the program of the revolutionary party is an essential part, and in his own way grapple with and assimilate reality, and in his own way influence the moods and attitudes of the people, convince them, spur their imagination, encourage thought, deepen feeling, arouse interest, intensify experience, strengthen memory, enhance will and awaken desire to do great deeds for progress? If the artist succeeds in this does he not become a "real leader and organizer of the people's struggle for freedom"?

Each art expresses only certain aspects of reality. It is to that extent limited and partial. But every art is an extension of man's consciousness, heightens his sensitivity to the real world in which he lives. Its highest aim is to make each of us recreate in thought and feeling an image which is both ours and that of the artist, and which brings us, our emotions taut, our mind alert, into the country of those who see. And in so doing it equips us better to cope with and change reality.

No, there is no special need for the poet to be modest about his vocation. But about his individual achievement—that is another matter. If he can attain the stature of Gorky, Shelley, Milton, he will in truth become a leader and organizer of the people's struggle for freedom.

George Hunt.
Educational Director,
South Side Branch, CP.
Milwaukee.

Military Training

To New Masses: Americans who can seriously consider compulsory peacetime military training of any type whatever must indeed be blind or completely forgetful of history and of American tradition. The years since Pearl Harbor ought to demonstrate that the military and industrial achievements of the USA have surpassed what even the most optimistic imagination could conceive.

If the war is to have achieved any of the objectives which were ostensibly at stake, this proposed step in the direction of militarism should well cause skeptics to doubt the honesty and integrity of the whole war effort. Can we be sure that a large armed force may not be employed in the future as it is in the present to prevent a truly democratic peoples' government from emerging in Europe? What assurance have we that this proposed measure may not implement a policy of economic imperialism? Already before the corpses of men who gave their lives on the battlefields of Europe and Asia have become cold, the cartel-mongers and financial pirates are haggling about landing-fields and markets and economic strategy which will preserve the status quo or even enhance the grip of organized finance over the working people. Against whom would this army be used? Certainly not the Axis powers. South America? Or perhaps one of the Allies? Or peradventure the organized labor movement in USA? Or

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is it a subterfuge to absorb some of the post-war unemployment?

Any dispassionate consideration of this matter naturally involves comparison with our great Soviet ally, whose whole system of ideology and economic structure have been contested by the rest of the world, not only Japan, Italy and Germany but the US and Great Britain also. They had ample reason to prepare for attack, and their magnificent accomplishments in this war speak for the wisdom of their policies. Who do we suspect is likely to attack this country?

If the American Army were organized like that of Russia there might indeed be some good argument for the discipline and education and enlightenment which would result from a year's service. As a veteran of World War I and as a teacher who has contact with large numbers of youth in the present Army, I know that the armies of the US have not an outlook which would be conducive to progressive and enlightened citizenship. Quite the contrary. Soldiers are drilled not to think but to do as commanded. One has only to consider the reactionary attitude of veterans' organizations of the last war to visualize the deleterious influences which would be set at work. There may or may not be deliberate fascistic influences brought to play on some of the servicemen today, but the trend points in that direction, and the opposite viewpoint has been inculcated by only the most perfunctory and vacuous policies.

It is a platitude to say that the young men of the country are its most priceless asset. Why not provide the means for every deserving young man and woman to obtain the highest education possible? Might this not raise the cultural and intellectual standards of the country and render the citizen of the future more capable of democratic government? Perhaps a danger might be seen in this—a broad and thorough education might eventually create a sufficiently large number of people who would be intelligent enough to see some of the faults in our present system of society and even to take measures to correct them. We may be certain that military training can be depended upon to preserve the present immaturity and chauvinism and complacency which were responsible for the war.

Public opinion in this country is not much further advanced today than in the 1920's when we complacently watched or even applauded the *cordon sanitaire* against Russia. This attitude permitted the rise of fascism. Despite Teheran and Yalta a large conscripted peacetime army is not to be trusted to powers which are likely to continue this same policy. WOLFRAM ESCHENBACH.
Highland Park, Mich.

What Is a Foreman?

TO NEW MASSES: There are deep-seated reasons why foremen in all sections of the country are organizing.

Once on a time a foreman served an important function for management. He was a Simon Legree, cracking his whip to speed up production at any cost to the health of the workers. He ignored safety standards in his eagerness to lower expenses and raise profits in his department. He proved extremely useful in ferreting out the workers inclined toward unions and seeing that these "radicals" were thrown out on their cans.

But the Wagner act and the war have changed many things. Today a foreman is almost like a fifth wheel. First of all, he no longer dares be a Simon Legree. The union simply won't let him get away with it. And management now transacts its business with the workers through the union president and a bargaining committee, or a labor-management committee, or a steward. It is a plain fact that a shop steward carries more weight with the workers (and, in many cases, with management) than any foreman. This is because the steward is elected by his shopmates.

So we find foremen in increasing numbers facing a new and desperate situation—their relative unimportance to management—and in self-protection turning toward organization. The sudden, strange first awareness of insecurity has them frightened.

Especially is it interesting to observe foremen who used to try to dissuade shop workers from organizing now, for security's sake, moving in that direction themselves.

LEWIS BOOTH.
Chairman, Dayton Public Service League
Dayton, Ohio.

Browder vs. Browder

TO NEW MASSES: In your issue of August 14, Dorothy June Newbury correctly answered the argument of Carl von der Lancken who had supported Browder's revisionism on the grounds that the nature of finance capital is not necessarily permanent but is subject to dialectic change even under capitalism. What is significant is not so much the argument itself as the fact that such perversions of Marxism are so widespread even among people who call themselves Marxists.

The best answer to this fallacy that I have ever read was in a speech made several years ago by one of the leaders of the Communist Party. I quote, with approval and respect:

"In our approach to the masses whom we are striving to win, to organize, to mobilize for the revolutionary struggle, we must always be tolerant and patient as well as stubborn and persistent. But in the field of revolutionary theory, to accomplish our main task of winning the broad masses, the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution, we must be resolutely intolerant against every deviation in theory, against every effort to revise Marxism and Leninism. This theoretical intransigence, this unyielding adherence of the Communist movement to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is not sectarianism. It is not dogmatism. It is the necessary precondition for the smashing of sectarianism, of all opportunistic tendencies in the working class."

I doubt if even von der Lancken would accuse the speaker of sectarianism. For these words were spoken on Dec. 9, 1932 at a mass meeting called to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Workers' School—by Earl Browder! PHILIP POLLACK.

P.S.: Maybe that explains it: we had a Workers' School that *really* educated the workers in the science of Marxism then!

Getting the Ironing Done

TO NEW MASSES: I received the marked copy of NM today. I went to the Carleton Press here and got the manuscript of *Reap the Harvest* and brought it home with me, since two of the stories were in it. ["The Fiery Cross," NEW MASSES, August 14.] I had told Mr. Carleton at the beginning that we could not go to press with the book until I heard from a publication to which I had sent some of the pieces. He didn't seem to be surprised when I showed him the copy of NM.

I'll say this of the man: he never tried to get me to come out of the gutter and write of other things. He agreed to step down and publish a thousand books to be given away, for he thought they would arouse enough interest and criticism that from then on we could make money on the books. I could have told him that there would be no more of them published. The Chamber of Commerce or some civic organization would put pressure on him and that would end it. I've bucked the master men before.

There is so much to write about every day of this changing world. I wish you would let me send these stories to you as I write them and you can use them as you see fit. I don't want money for writing. What I want from this world is the opportunity to change it. If by writing I can help a little in creating a new world in which there will be no place for the kind of stories I write—that is enough for me. I could do better with them if I didn't have the responsibility of getting them out where the people could read them.

At present the supermen are riding herd on the Mexicans, trying to cut them out of the white and put them in with the Negro. Old Jim Crow got around in the past few months and posted brand new "White Only" and "No Mexicans" signs on just about everything here except the air. Now they are excluding poor whites from the swimming pools and public recreation places in their campaign against any threat to "social, sanitary and health conditions." The result of this is that we who are referred to as "lousy Mexicans," "white trash," and "black bastards" find ourselves turned out to graze in the same pasture and it is beginning to dawn on us that we bear the brand of the common man. As Aunt Fannie says, "They sho' is sprinkling the clothes for us. If we can jus' git the ironin' done afore they spile."

I never attempt something which I know I can't do, therefore I shall not try to tell you how much it meant to me to have that little story "From the Cross to the Tomb" published for the world to read. Thanks for everything. LEONORA SWEETLAND.
San Antonio, Texas.

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SEEING THE SOVIET PEOPLE

"The Pattern of Soviet Power," by Edgar Snow, reviewed by Isidor Schneider

At a public gathering some time ago Quentin Reynolds, whose clear-eyed and warm-hearted reporting from the Soviet Union has served America well, delivered a blast against Soviet censorship, holding it responsible, in part, for the prevailingly bad foreign press the Soviet Union has received. Shortly afterward there appeared the indecent fabrications of W. L. White who, as a member of Eric Johnston's party, had pretty complete immunity from the restraints correspondents complain of. Unlike such honest reporting as Mr. Reynolds' own, much of which has a comparatively restricted circulation, White's filth appeared in a *Reader's Digest* condensation (15,000,000 copies) and was given heavy additional circulation through reprints ordered and distributed by reactionaries; and his book, when it appeared, was quickly jockeyed by publicity, review and distributor manipulation into best seller lists. I am sure that Mr. Reynolds will agree that it would be only human for the Soviet censors to feel confirmed in their suspicion of representatives of the "bourgeois" press.

And I could not help recalling recent American press items with their insinuations that General Wainwright had suffered a second ordeal as a Soviet prisoner, and that everything is rotten in the European countries that happen to have governments clearly friendly to the Soviet Union, when I read the strictures on the Soviet censorship apparatus in Edgar Snow's new book, *The Pattern of Soviet Power.**

By this I do not mean to justify censorship or imply that it satisfactorily solves any of the problems it is set up to meet. It seems clear that, as administered, Soviet censorship has failed to distinguish between the objective and serious correspondents and their prejudiced and scoop-minded colleagues; nor does it seem to have lessened anti-Soviet reporting.

Yet, from my desk here, far away from the run-down elegance of the Metropole Hotel where, according to the correspondents, they are condemned to live in bored exile, and unharassed as I am by cable demands for unobtainable information, it seems to me that, the record and the circumstances being what they were, the Soviet Press Department people were responding about as one might expect.

President Truman's famous "blunt" affront to the French journalists makes clear that sensitiveness to criticism is a widely distributed trait. Moreover it came with little logic or grace after the American press treatment of the French Resistance and after the unprincipled AP scooping of the V-E armistice.

Moreover, the signs are multiplying of a tendency to use correspondents as a new type of agent unhampered by the niceties of diplomatic procedure. The new role would seem to combine that of unofficial "observer" with that of applicator of a new type of pressure euphoniously labelled "public opinion." Its present use by the American State Department and the British Foreign Office in the East European states is making that obvious and ominous.

The problem is fundamental; the solution calls for something more sweeping than personnel or procedure changes in the Soviet Press Department. It calls for something more sweeping than even the abrogation of censorship. It calls for such an advance in knowledge and responsibility, such a change in American-Soviet relations as would on our part end the hostility and the superiority complex and the greed for exotics that has made American "information" on the Soviet Union and other countries, notably the Orient, a mess of neurotic fantasy. The need is urgent, for our jingoes have emerged from the war with an intoxicated sense of imperial power. Only changes resulting in real mutual friendliness and respect will be sufficient.

Fortunately that need is increasingly understood and we need not be pessimistic.

This, in fact, is implied throughout Mr. Snow's book itself. When such a development has led to mutual confidence Soviet doors will open without loud knocking and press department officials will effortlessly show the smiling sides of their faces. The best interim solution would seem to be the one Mr. Snow himself outlines and which has been followed by the few other correspondents whose work has proved to be of any value:

"For the net result of the Press Department's policy was not to prevent correspondents from getting acquainted with Russians or learning about Soviet life. The more industrious learned the language sufficiently to operate on their own, and more and more ignored the Press Department in seeking contacts and information. And it was these Russian people, whom one met in spite of the official policy, who gave the correspondent his impression of the country and the attitude of the public toward the government.

"One of the surprising discoveries you make . . . is the degree of freedom with which the Russian speaks about everything with his friends. I have heard no more severe criticism of the Soviet government than from Russians themselves, and sometimes even from party members. But at the same time the most effective "propagandizing" ever done on me has been through contacts with ordinary Russians who conceded the good things accomplished by their government, along with their criticism of the bad. It was most effective simply because it proved that beneath all the system of controls the individual Russian still had a mind of his own and still spoke his opinions in private with a freedom that gave reality to the existence of criticism. In this way one was able to form a judgment of the achievements of the Soviet system and dispel a good deal of the skepticism which one naturally felt for self-praise produced by the propaganda bureau."

It is by having followed this method that Mr. Snow's reporting, as gathered together here, comes to about the best correspondent's book on the Soviet Union that has appeared in recent years. We find in it the same alert and well

* THE PATTERN OF SOVIET POWER, *by Edgar Snow. Illustrated with photographs. Random House. $2.75.*

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informed mind, operating on the rule that you can know a country best through its people, that distinguished him as a correspondent in China. This rule led him to examine vast and accessible areas overlooked by the more professional correspondents, and enabled him to outscoop the scoop-hunters. Another gift that sets Snow apart from some of the other correspondents, who seem scarcely to have risen above the police blotter level, is his sense of history and his sense of the world scene.

Indeed, such criticism as there is to make of his new book is that he does not make more of these advantages. There has begun to creep into his correspondence some of the attitudes, values and manners of the professional correspondent. His writing here is at its best when he gets back to his own, old amateur level of the man who is interested in a subject and is finding out for himself, rather than for an editor.

Finally there is Snow's remarkably effective expository style. Snow manages to make clear whatever he sets out to explain by presenting it in terms of wider human experience. And he sets out to explain only as much as he knows, leaving speculation to a minimum and always labelling it such. The effect he gives of explaining so much comes partly from not attempting to explain too much.

This, however, does not apply to the title, which promises both more and less than the book has to offer. The book is not the close analysis of the Soviet political structure that some of the critics who review title, blurb and biographical summary of the author have taken it to be. On the other hand it covers more aspects of Soviet life than the title would seem to restrict it to.

The Pattern of Soviet Power deals with a fair amount of trivia as well as serious matters. It covers Soviet foreign policy and Soviet occupation practices in the countries entered by the victorious Red armies; it deals with home politics and changes in the family structure and attitudes; with new attitudes toward the Russian past; with new aspects of Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalism; with Soviet-Japanese relations; with the role of Stalin and other government figures; with Soviet handling of German PW's; with Soviet forms of democratic expression, etc. That is, it is not a systematized study of any one aspect of Soviet life but a wide-ranging reportorial survey. For what it is, an outstanding correspondent's roundup of his experiences and observations in the country that is certain to remain the key to coming history, it contains better and wiser information, and better reading, than any similar volume in its field.

A Case of the Splits

RAW MATERIAL, *by Oliver La Farge. Houghton Mifflin. $3.*

IF I take a number, for example 387 and add the digits, I get another number, in this case 18. But this sort of derivation is irreversible. I mean, given the number 18 I cannot possibly have any conception of the number 387.

In just this way, I feel, *Raw Material* was no doubt derived by the author from the experiences of his own life. But I don't think La Farge has really given us his life in this book. He has cheated both himself and the reader. The cause, as near as one can diagnose it from this truly raw material, lies in a severe case of the splits from which the author has evidently suffered all his life. And still suffers.

Let us take the matter of literary fame. Does La Farge crave it or not? Well, yes, and then again, no. Are poverty and obscurity better for the craftsman than wealth and public attention? La Farge is still mentally revolving this antique cud.

Was La Farge's interest in the Navajos mere romantic escapism? Or did he contribute to the welfare of the Indian? It may be.

Are La Farge's nights haunted by horrible dreams of being back at that aristocratic prep-school Groton? Yes, indeed. But don't presume that La Farge isn't proud of winning his letter there and thus gaining the respect and admiration of the fellow-pupils whom he nevertheless despised.

In connection with Groton, La Farge is very well aware of his case of splits. He says: "To top the whole thing I attained the almost incredible dishonesty of registering my son for Groton as soon as he was born." Groton may be horrible, but it is still one of America's most exclusive prep-schools. Noblesse oblige. Schizophrenia compels.

La Farge can crown himself with both thorns and laurel in one and the same paragraph. For example: he tells us of the cold, the malaria, the dysentery, the poor pay he received while doing ethnological work in Central America, seeking to discover whether Kanhobal is a dialect of Jacalteca, or the reverse. "Ridiculous, isn't it?" he asks sheepishly. "Yet, to me, the matter is not only serious but exciting." And he goes on to glory in (and of course to deprecate at the same time) the fact that only six men in the whole world, "some, alas, now our enemies, will respect me for adding to the linguistic map of Central America. . . ."

La Farge is irritated by the "literally dozens of idiots, mainly females," the "peanut-minds," who ask him ridiculous questions about his books. He says: "I grow sick of smiling fools who tell me, 'Oh, Mr. La Farge, I did so love your *Laughing Boy*, when are you going to give us another book?' Having written four other novels . . ." What can La Farge be wanting anyhow? If one is read by the millions they cannot all be the elite.

La Farge is not so blind that he doesn't realize that he is lost, floundering. He describes his book as a "hodge-podge." He admits the form is "cock-eyed." And the befuddled reader will wonder how it can be that in a book of introspection and autobiography the best writing can be devoted to rowing the eight-oared shell for Harvard (an excellent chapter, that) and the worst writing is to be found in a couple of skimpy pages devoted to religion. One would imagine that any serious person sitting down to the job of writing about his life must either already know the meaning of his life or, in the course of his reflections, discover it. Otherwise he had better burn his manuscript. For if he has nothing better to offer the reader than a "hodge-podge," isn't it all a sheer waste of paper, money and time?

May I offer La Farge some hints? In his *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx says: "The philosophers have merely interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it." (That is to say, change the world for the better, of course, and keep improving oneself too, since one is part of the world.)

Or, since La Farge seems to despise Marx, may I suggest the Bhagavad-Gita, where the Blessed Lord, before he sends Arjuna back into the battle, says: "O Arjuna, be thou free from the pairs of opposites (cold and heat, pleasure and pain); ever steadfast, be thou free from acquiring or keeping and self-possessed." (That is: stop being split between the opposites; choose your side and get on with living.)

Or if the Bible appeals to him as a better guide, how about this from

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Courtesy U.S. Army.

"New Guinea Graveyard," oil by Capt. Sidney Simon, USA, from the US Treasury "War Against Japan" exhibition.

Revelations: "I know thy works, that thou art neither hot nor cold: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."

There is one dangerous and sad moment in this book when La Farge almost faces his disease and squares off to kill it. But then he decides not to. He goes to New Orleans and a Southern girl says to him, first-off: "I like you. You're nice." La Farge wants desperately to say something equally warm to her. But he can't. After years in New Orleans, "with painful self-consciousness I forced the first warm remark past my jaws, something clipped and inadequate. . . . I could feel a physical sensation as if bands were being released about my heart." But, alas, he puts the bands back on: "It is not that I became or could become an Orleanian . . . one cannot falsify his inheritance. . . . " He decides to remain a good Groton Yankee.

On the very last page of the book La Farge thinks he has finally found the right adjustment for himself in this world: he has wangled a commission in the Air Transport Command. And the final sentence of *Raw Material* reads: "I have fallen in love with a bomber; quite literally, a new world has been opened to me." Imagine: two billion people wait for the prince to choose his consort. And he picks a machine.

So ends a distressing volume on the miseducation and misapplication of a talented American, left rudderless in the world of today.

GUY ENDORE.

America in China

CHINA'S CRISIS, *by Lawrence K. Rosinger. Knopf.*

ANYONE familiar with the weekly bulletins of the Foreign Policy Association has learned of the reliability and insight of the reports by the Association's Far East expert, Lawrence K. Rosinger. His new book, *China's Crisis,* is not a collection of his shorter articles, useful as that might have been. It is, instead, a well integrated analysis of the influences which today threaten to bisect China and of the counter-influences which seek to unite it under a democratic coalition.

In the sphere of foreign relations there is no subject more important for the American people to grasp. The power of the United States in China is sufficiently great and unchallenged to warrant the statement that we hold the key to China's immediate destiny. And on that destiny hangs the security of the most heavily populated sector of the world. Mr. Rosinger's book is happily timed to provide us with essential information at the very time when China's affairs are again at crisis.

The American stake in China's internal situation is well put by Mr. Rosinger. In a concluding chapter on United States policy he says: "America's interest in China might be summed up in three phrases: winning the war, developing postwar markets, and preserving the peace. Only a strong, democratic China—not a weak, subservient one—can promote these ends properly. A reactionary Chinese government cannot put forth a maximum effort to defeat Japan or develop internal reforms needed to raise popular purchasing power and create a great Chinese market. And since its policies would result in civil war, or at the least a continuing threat of strife, it could hardly play a useful part in preserving Far Eastern peace and might contribute greatly to the factors making for a third World War."

That, of course, was written before the close of the military phase of the war. But if the war be interpreted, as of course it must be, as a struggle to uproot fascism, then it is evident that its political phases have still to be completed. At the moment of Japan's military surrender reactionary forces boldly came forward with a program, long in preparation, to form a new anti-democratic coalition. There were Chungking's open moves to provoke civil war against those Chinese who had fought most heroically in the war and who had firmly planted the seeds of democracy in those areas outside Chungking's and Japan's direct control. There was Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's bid to the puppet quislings to hold the fort of reaction against the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. And there was his outrageous appeal to the Japanese troops themselves to retain their arms against China's democratic forces.

These events in China were coupled with General MacArthur's strangely courteous treatment of the vanquished enemy and the thinly disguised rejoicing among American reactionaries over the prospect of retaining a conservative stronghold in the Far East. The American government's military and political subsidy of the Kuomintang dictatorship completed the circle of the new anti-democratic grouping.

A dangerous situation indeed. And one against which the voice of the American people is being too lightly raised. Aside from preoccupation with pressing domestic questions the reason for this inattention to Far Eastern developments lies in large part in the public's unfamiliarity with that area of the world. One of the principal weapons of reaction in pursuing an anti-democratic policy toward China and Japan

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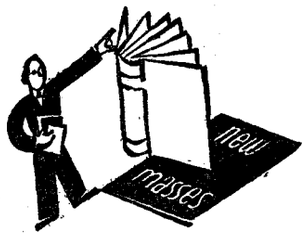

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is the lack of information on the part of the democratic masses of Americans.

Mr. Rosinger's book is one of several which, if widely read, will overcome this source of democratic weakness. T. A. Bisson's book on our Far Eastern policy and Harrison Forman's first-hand account of "Red China" are two other important recent publications. There is no duplication among these books. Mr. Bisson's deals with American policy, Mr. Forman's with China's northwest. *China's Crisis* gives a comprehensive account of the struggle for unity within China prior to 1937, the contrasting record of both Kuomintang and Communist leadership during the long war, and able accounts of American, British and Soviet policies toward the Chinese situation. If only one of the three is to be read, perhaps, because of its comprehensiveness, Mr. Rosinger's is the best. But the other two should not be overlooked.

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

Rappites and Owenites

ANGEL IN THE FOREST, *A Fairy Tale of Two Utopias, by Margaret Young. Reynal & Hitchcock. $3.*

THIS excellent biography-history-poem of the struggle of utopian socialism is particularly moving today when one-sixth of the world is demonstrating the goodness and might of scientific socialism. It is the history of the communal communities of the Rappites and the Owenites, begun in the pocket of the hills between the Wabash and the Ohio, and in the pocket of time between the French and American revolutions and the development of industrial capitalism. In the midst of the rapacious growth of "free enterprise" when the fields of Ireland were burning, and the mills of Manchester were grinding down their human bones, Robert Owen dreamed of the golden valleys of mid-America where, from a seed in the wilderness, socialism might grow and hold back the mounting destruction.

This study of the two utopian "Communistic" societies of New Harmony is treated both with the exhaustive care of a scholar and the sensibility of a poet and a novelist. The product of an award by the American Association of University Women, it fully justifies further subsidizing of the work of creative writers in the field of historical research.

The Owenites took over the New Harmony Colony—ague, bad housing, and all—from the Rappites, German mystics who had fled the Prussian domination and had combined fanatical celibacy and teetotalism with profitable bootlegging down the river to New Orleans. Miss Young relates this moving saga in vivid detail, with warm regard and imagination for the human elements. Particularly fine are her portraits of Owen's son and the women who, perforce and with bewilderment, followed their strange men into utopias that ended in cold and hunger.

Owen, the "father of socialism," says the author, "stands between two tidal movements—the withdrawing French revolution and the rise of dialectic materialism. A nineteenth-century man with his roots in the eighteenth century, his branches in the twentieth, he is not so much an individual as a symbol of the progressive spirit."

"Every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers, links itself to the name of Robert Owen," wrote Engels.

But Miss Young throws the main emphasis on the pathetic story of Owen's connection with spiritualism; and she confuses her story with the device carried throughout the book of returning to the somewhat imbecilic New Harmony of today, with its backwash of picturesque flotsam, and seems to seek symbolic meanings in it. Perhaps it is only a weakness of her impressionist method, which has other defects; a strained style bordering on surrealism, strange metaphor and simile, often beautiful and apt, but present to excess. Accuracy of observation is lost and even the sensibility of poetic judgment seems weakened or cancelled out and sometimes cheapened—exhibitionism on a verbal trapeze. One would not mention this excess except that it mars the rich and intricate pattern of Miss Young's fresh talent and certainly mitigates against the direct communication of both poetry and fact to the reader.

Angel in the Forest is a fine creative invocation of a buried trail of American life, so rich, vigorous and often fantastic, and the portrait of Robert Owen is one for our time. For he cast a radar glance into the future, to socialism and international amity. MERIDEL LE SUEUR.

How Slavery Was Ended

CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY, *by Eric Williams. University of North Carolina Press. $3.*

MARX wrote briefly, in the first volume of *Capital*, of the role of slavery and the slave-trade in supplying part of the "primitive accumulation"

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necessary for the launching and developing of industrial capitalism. And with typical fervor and warmth he concluded his discussion of this subject by remarking that "capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

The book under review, by Professor Williams of Howard University, documents fully and with great care this fact which Marx noted, and also demonstrates the part played by industrial capitalism in destroying both the slave-trade and British West Indian slavery.

Professor Williams is in disagreement with the conventional, and dominant, English "sentimental" school of historians (best exemplified by Coupland) who look upon British abolition as "God's work," and permit such inanities to serve as explanations for an exceedingly complex and radical social development. In the midst of his polemics Professor Williams does tend, at times, in this reviewer's opinion, towards determinism and a certain type of mechanical historical relativism which belittles moral motivations and convictions. This, for example, makes him write: "The 'horrors' of the Middle Passage have been exaggerated. For this the British abolitionists are in large part responsible." This is, however, followed by a brief description of some of the conditions typical during that passage (taken from these same abolitionists) which indicates that the horrors of that experience cannot be exaggerated.

But this emphasis is the author's deliberate choice, for he states that his work "is strictly an economic study" and that he "has deliberately subordinated the inhumanity of the slave system and the humanitarianism which destroyed that system." There is, however, a happy, though very condensed, exception to this in that the author does bring out the fact that a basic element in the struggle against slavery was the active militant efforts of the Negro slaves themselves. He shows "the determination of the slaves themselves to be free." He states, and states correctly, that "the most dynamic and powerful social force in the colonies was the slave himself . . . the docility of the Negro slave is a myth"—remarks documented by accounts of several large-scale slave plots and rebellions.

The basic thesis of the book—namely, that the slave-trade and West Indian slavery and the trading privileges and monopoly rights derived therefrom, established in the days of commercial capitalism, had become anachronistic with the appearance of industrial capitalism—is unquestionably correct. In demonstrating this truth Professor Williams makes a valuable and original contribution to the growing school of realistic and rational historiography.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Bridge and Span

THE BRIDGE, *by Stanley Burnshaw. Dryden Press. $2.75.*

The self joyously shatters its separateness
Against the rock of our time and smiles
as the fragments
Scatter through seas of space into
nothingness,
Seeing the vast white body of mankind. . . .

So STANLEY BURNSHAW has his woman protagonist, Una, speak to her rejected lover, Skinner, who believes that "everything vast and beautiful that the world has ever known first grew up in a seed burning bright and alone in one man's mind."

In his three-act poetic drama Burnshaw resolves the conflict of our time in terms of two human characters—Graves, the practical man who builds the span across an ocean, and Carver, the dreamer who works on the enduring structure of the Bridge, leading to tomorrow, which the poet defines as "the human spirit." The author has a Negro labor leader declare:

The Bridge and the Strip
Are both one path to the Future.
Therefore no man can work
On the Bridge unless he works
On the Strip. Effective today.

Years ago I, for one, found out that I could no longer write with any force about what I called "the coming city of man" unless I found time to do such things as sweeping out a meeting hall or sitting down with a committee of workers to help draw up a leaflet. But I was also one of many progressive writers who drew back in dismay and distrust, like Carver, from resolute working-class organizers with time only to think of the next union contract which was, for them, the next mile of the span.

It was the steady coming of age of America's industrial workers which resolved for us the conflict between the bridge and the span, between what we fondly called "spirit" and "matter." It is the workers of both the span and the bridge who, in Burnshaw's notable poem, decide that both are equally important and so inform the jealous

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SEPTEMBER, 1945

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architects. As Carver then says to Graves:

They are leading us. We can forget that years
Were broken into blocks of days. We shall see
Monoliths of time—and the hours singing.

Stanley Burnshaw's remarkable poetic drama *The Bridge* is itself a monolith and a guidepost pointing to tomorrow when men may be both dreamers and workers. It is to be hoped that it will find a theater worthy of its theme, and actors worthy of its characters.

HAROLD PREECE.

"GIRL No. 217"

"GIRL No. 217," the current Soviet film at the Stanley, is a motion picture for adults. It is as carefully planned a film as we have seen in many a day; each scene contributes to the total significance of the whole. There is no waste dialogue, no parts tailored to fit popular taste. While some may argue that *Girl No. 217* does not rank with the very top Soviet classics, no one can deny that, by the sound and skillful blending of its component parts—writing, acting, directing, decor, music, etc.—this film represents movie-making at its best.

Girl No. 217 is one of the thousands of captured civilians taken into bondage by the Nazis. Through their sufferings the film reflects the degradation of the average German civilian. For examples of Germans the producers have chosen "ordinary" representatives of Hitler's civilization: a grocer, his wife, his blonde, prurient daughter, her crippled suitor. Self-deformed by their faith in the shibboleth of Nordic supremacy, the Germans examine the offered slaves by poking them with umbrella and cane. In a later scene, the arrant stupidity and arrogance of the family is brilliantly fixed when the *vater* discovers, to his amazement, that the Russian girl is capable of following simple instructions around the kitchen.

The systematic brutalization to which these erstwhile human beings have been subjected is obvious in their every act. Not necessarily members of the Nazi party (there is not a single *heil* throughout the film), these burgher types inflict the most inhuman tortures upon their prisoners. There is no discernible spark of decency left in them. Each reveals his corruption in terms of his own interests: to the crippled suitor, the daughter's prospective dowry is more important than the daughter herself; the father's greed triumphs over any feeling for his daughter's happiness or his son's life; the mother, whose matronly appearance is at starting odds with her relish of evil, treats her slave with all the insensate equanimity of a Brownshirt torturer.

As dramatic foil to the Germans there are the Russians, who are resolved to survive, as the Germans are resolved that they shall perish. Their anguish is epic in its martyr-like intensity. But here is no submissive martyrdom. The prisoners resist by every device at their command; they hoard bread crumbs against the day when they can escape. They finally bring release for themselves and the audience—by killing the grocer's son and his SS friend, who are on leave from the front.

There are many beautifully built up scenes throughout the film. In particular, the scene of the family wrangling over a pot of money that the grocer had cached away is touched with genius. The acting, directing, dialogue and photography are integrated to produce a feeling of realism that is overwhelming. Mikhail Romm, one of the Soviet masters, has helped write and has directed the film with a continual awareness of its purposes. Even the furniture and the props are used to build the characters of the German-impersonating actors. At one point, the introduction of a toy chamber pot, as a mustard holder, and the uncontrolled ribaldry with which this object is greeted, defines the vulgarity of the Germans as no dialogue could. The music score by Khatchaturian, young Armenian composer beautifully points up the meaning of the film. The sequence in which Tanya is confined to a solitary cell, too small for her to sit down in, is given almost its complete feeling by the music. The banging of the guard to keep her awake becomes a volcano of nerve-wracking sound, a torture to her pain-gripped body and mind. The score also invests the final moments of the film, where she stabs the Nazi soldiers, with a Hamlet-like quality of drama, and reveals what she must feel as she makes

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ner way through the dark house. The acting, of course, is equal to the subject matter, and it is difficult to pick one member of the cast over any other.

Girl No. 217 pulls no punches. It is tough and honest, and I would like to see Hollywood handle subjects equally important to us in the same manner.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

The Navy's Orchestras

Washington

THERE has been some mild criticism of the armed forces in this country to the effect that they neglect the intellectual and esthetic needs of their soldiers and sailors. The reply from the military is an equally mild smile; unresentful, a little amused, and much too busy to even think about so ephemeral and untraditional a matter. But there always seem to be a few scattered officers, high enough to matter, who have progressive ideas which they put unostentatiously into practice where they may. The mental and artistic goods which the US Army and Navy have provided have actually been considerable. Among them are two symphony orchestras established by the Navy here in Washington. And good ones.

The personnel for these orchestras is drawn from the Navy and Marine bands stationed in the Capital. Every service man knows that the life of a bandsman is not all peaches and cream, as civilians are sometimes apt to think. They work hard and long, often play under appalling conditions, always have to be spick and span and they have other military duties heaped on them to keep them occupied the rest of the time.

Both bands have their associate orchestras, conducted by their band-leaders; and cymbal and drum players change to violin and harp for regular rehearsals and concerts. The orchestras thus have a nucleus of seasoned bandsmen with three or four "hash-marks" on their arms. But added to this is a large number of orchestra men who have entered the Navy and Marine bands from all the major orchestras in the country, and the result is that the personnel of these groups is topnotch. The loss to our famous orchestras, and it is quite audible to the experienced ear, is the Army and Navy's gain. The Army is still too matter-of-fact to employ musicians as musicians, but the Navy's policy of specialization, of placing every man where he best functions, has led to pleasure for all concerned.

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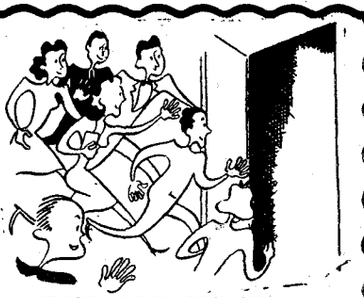

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chestra gives a weekly concert, free to the general public. Washington's three-quarter million population has almost doubled; and the audience for music has increased in a like proportion. The concerts eschew formality, and are always packed with soldiers and sailors of all countries and both sexes, abundant government girls, and a good number of native Washingtonians, who doggedly refuse to be swamped out by the rest. The National Symphony Orchestra, Washington's professional organization, is not a very distinguished musical body; its repertoire is extremely standardized, and the level of interpretation and performance is low. The Navy orchestras play more interesting music, play it more expertly, and, in one case at least, have the distinct edge in conducting.

The Navy is always ready for a battle and I like to hope that the National Symphony will give some competition next season. The increased tempo of musical life that such a warfare would afford would be a stimulation and a benefit to all.

OF THE two orchestras the Marine Band Symphony Orchestra, though the less known, is the more successful. The Marines have not only formed an orchestra, but in Captain Santelmann they also have a first-class conductor. He knows how to phrase, he has an exhilarating operatic sense of climax, he has a sense of humor and he knows a beautiful passage when he sees one—and spends time and care seeing that it emerges beautifully from the orchestra. His readings are free from bombast and cuteness and power-complex and nervousness and acidity and lots of other sins to which some of his famous contemporaries are addicted. He is as expert an orchestral trainer as he is a bandleader. Technically the men sound clean and fresh and well rehearsed; the strings play *unisono* in sense as well as sound, the winds attack precisely, and at the beginning of a horn solo we feel an easy assurance that the player isn't going to crack—and he doesn't. Some of the first-bench men have been heard before in evening coats rather than in Marine uniforms, but they play no less beautifully for that, and many of them are given opportunities to appear as concerto soloists with the orchestra. The atmosphere between the captain and the enlisted men is clearly cordial, friendly, and devoid of the rigor more common to such associations. Sometimes I even wish Captain Santelmann would

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crack d wn a little on his soloists; he lets them do just what they like. and I always seem to prefer his taste to theirs.

Both the Captain and Lieutenant Brendler of the Navy Band Symphony Orchestra have been uncommonly intelligent in their choice of programs. Throughout last season Tchaikovsky appeared rarely, Brahms seldom, and Rachmaninoff still less. Indeed, this propensity to stay away from the big names became indiscriminate, and Beethoven, Bach, Mozart and Wagner were also heard at relatively long intervals. But what of it? You can hear the classics on records with Weingartner, Beecham, Walter and Toscanini. The Navy and Marine Orchestras played *Benvenuto Cellini*, *Harold in Italy*, Stravinsky's Symphony, Walton's *Façade* and the Viola Concerto, Britten's Suite after Rossini, *Mathis der Mahler*, *Schelomo*, Glazunov's Symphony No. 5, Debussy's clarinet *Rhapsodie*, and by American composers the *Poem from Flute* and the *Pleasure Dome* of Griffes, Sessions' Overture to *The Black Maskers*, Piston's *The Incredible Flutist*, and Copland's *An Outdoor Overture*, plus quite a few more. Lieutenant Brendler also has quite a liking for Liszt, a most important composer who is certainly neglected in traditional orchestral repertoire.

Perhaps the nicest single feature about these orchestras is a certain fresh and lively quality they have. Only too often with our professional groups we get the feeling that conductor and players alike are tired and unenthusiastic, and that playing week after week is just a drudge to them like bookkeeping or turning bolts on an assembly line. The Navy and Marine Orchestras always sound as though the music is enjoyed by everybody on the stage, and the feeling spreads to the audience. Perhaps it is not too much to speculate that the men, some of them old orchestra musicians, appreciate music more as it comes to them in direct contrast with band work and less congenial military duties. Perhaps the spiritual value of music, lost in the old routine of orchestra work, returns when only a few hours are devoted to it among the bugle calls. It certainly sounds like it, and maybe some of the admirals and generals will take a hint from this humble but very fine experiment. I can certainly speak for one sailor's morale, which has been considerably brightened by the US Navy and Marine Band Symphony Orchestras.

JOSEPH W. KERMAN, USNR.

JOHN REED . . .

◆

Now, more than ever, this man who first stood between two worlds is in our minds. In the month of October, which encompasses both his birth and death, the twenty-five years since his burial in the Kremlin have seen the changing of a world.

Because he remains a great political and cultural figure—it is hard to say "symbol" since he was much more alive than most symbols—*New Masses* announces a John Reed meeting on October 12, at Manhattan Center. Reed's contemporaries will represent their friend, who was reporter, statesman, playwright, and poet. His effect on his times and ours is unforgettable—if a reminder is needed think only of his *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

Save October 12 for an evening you will want to spend with us. Watch for further announcements.

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